

# The Ryedale Historian

Memorandum made the 22<sup>nd</sup> Day of April 1782  
 that Charles Slingsby Duncombe Esq<sup>r</sup> hath to Say  
 Let unto Anthony Stonehouse and Thomas Ward a  
 Colliery call'd Harland which the said Thomas Ward  
 hath Drifted in and is now fit for working and they are  
 agreeable to pay after the Rate of 40 L when the seam or Bed  
 of Coals is 12 Inches thick and so more or less in  
 Proportion to the Thickness of the Seam and to have Work  
 and Plow wood for props according to the Agreement of the  
 other Collieries belonging to Charles Slingsby Duncombe  
 Esq<sup>r</sup> - and farther it is agreed that they will leave at least  
 half a yard of Coal between every Board in order to support  
 the Roof and to keep the Drift in sufficient repair, and  
 if at any time hereafter they should leave the said  
 Colliery, shall leave according as a working Colliery —  
 Witness  
 Joseph Goddard  
 Anthony Stonehouse  
 Thomas Ward



# The Ryedale Historian

A  
Periodical Publication  
by the  
Helmsley & District Group  
of the  
Yorkshire Archaeological Society

Number Four April 1969

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## Editorial

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We are glad to be able to report that the postponement of this fourth number of the Ryedale Historian for a year has had the desired effect on the Group's finances. Income has now caught up with outgoings, and thanks to a second grant from the North Riding County Council, which we gratefully acknowledge, we can launch No. 4 with some confidence in its financial effects as well as in the variety and interest of its contents. (We should perhaps add that it still comes to the public at cost price.)

What has happened to the Group in the two years since the appearance of No. 3? The further excavation of the Beadlam Roman villa has been postponed by the Ministry yet again. We have become affiliated to the Council for British Archaeology. Our normal activities - winter lectures and summer excursions under the ever efficient management of Mr. and Mrs. Allenby - have been as successful as ever. And if the contents of the present issue reflect the tendency of the Group as a whole to consider our function in terms of local history in the widest sense, rather than of pure archaeology, there is surely little harm in this.

Incidentally, one or two of our readers were heard to wonder if the Bowlby genealogy (see No.3) justified the space it occupied. They may be comforted to know that it has provoked correspondence with another descendant of the Bowlbys, this time in Washington, D.C., a lot more information about the circumstances (connected with their Quaker faith) in which a branch of the family emigrated to America, and the presentation to the Group by Mr. and Mrs. Leffingwell of a study by Peter O. Wacker of The Musconetcong Valley of New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1968. The localities of local history do link up in the most unpredictable ways! And of course, apart from this fortunate accident, the Bowlby genealogy should require no justification. It must be the function of a publication like ours to place on record any material relevant to the history of Ryedale.

Field-work here has not been lacking either. One contributor has been investigating a cist-grave near Helmsley, of which we shall hope to hear more in due course. And then there has been the fascinating business, in which many members of the Group have been involved at some stage, of the Rievaulx 'canals'. Stimulated by a lecture given by Dom Alberic Stacpoole, O.S.B., on the occasion of St. Aelred's centenary, Group members and members of an evening class led by their tutor, Mr. A.L. Pacitto, have been re-assessing the old question of the dates and functions of

the two 'canals', together with various grants of land relating to them, above and below Rievaulx Abbey. Field-work, beginning with a survey of the valley floor, has confirmed that previous interpretations (by H.A. Rye, Canon Atkinson and others) are inadequate and frequently wildly misleading. Some interesting alternatives are beginning to appear, but much work remains to be done. We look forward to a full report. This may well merit publication in a national journal, but we shall keep our readers informed, and meantime wish Mr. Pacitto and his associates good hunting.

Nor is there any shortage of contributions for the present issue - which is improved with a rather larger print-size. Indeed, faced with the problem of deciding the order of the main articles, the Editor has taken the coward's way out and arranged them in alphabetical order of authors.

This has at least one positive advantage, in that we can go straight to our old friend and life-member of the Group, Mr. G.O. Fox for his memoir of Frank Elgee. Since his death in 1944, Dr. Elgee's works have never been in danger of neglect - they are required reading for anybody interested in the North Yorkshire Moors - but the man himself has perhaps been underestimated in some quarters. Oswald Fox's article is a most welcome corrective to any such tendency.

Frank Elgee left school at 14, after a formal education continually interrupted by poor health. He became, by his own efforts, the acknowledged authority on every aspect of the Moors, and particularly their archaeology and natural history. Appositely, we learn as we go to press that facsimile reproductions of his three invaluable publications are about to be brought out. Prices will be in the region of 50/- to three guineas. For further details apply to:-

S.R. Publications Ltd.,  
East Ardsley, Wakefield, Yorks.

Now, as they say, read on .....



## **The Elgee I Knew**

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BY G. O. FOX

On the west side of the Blakey Rigg road, about two hundred yards south of Ralph's Cross and opposite the Rosedale road lies, rather than stands, a simple memorial. It reads "FRANK ELGEE 1880 - 1944". One who passed that way not long since wrote to "The Dalesman" to ask, "Who was Frank Elgee?" Part of the answer is to be found carved on the other side of the stone: NATURALIST ARCHAEOLOGIST. In the simplest of terms, he was the Curator of the Dorman Memorial Museum in Middlesbrough; to the initiated he might be called the High Priest of the North York Moors, for to them his life was dedicated.

The Moorlands of North - Eastern Yorkshire 1912

Early Man in North - East Yorkshire 1930

The Archaeology of Yorkshire

(In collaboration with Mrs. Elgee) 1933

and numerous monographs and articles establish him as the pre-eminent authority on the district; and if some of his colleagues in Middlesbrough spoke of him as "Poor Old Frank" an honorary Ph.D. conferred by the University of Leeds tells of esteem in more distinguished circles. It is gratifying to record that there has now been established on Tees-side an annual Elgee Memorial Lecture. The Archaeological Co-ordinating Committee (Cleveland and South Durham), formed in 1967, marked its inauguration by this imaginative gesture, doing itself honour and ensuring that the name of a notability is perpetuated at the scene of his labours.

The memorial stone in question was placed there by the interest of no less than ten of the learned societies of Yorkshire, with the blessing and active co-operation of the late Earl of Feversham. It stands in a high and central position of the Moors, and in sight of Loose Howe, which was the last excavation he inspired.

In its simplicity the memorial is in keeping with the character of the man. (And it would be fitting here to pay tribute to the craftsmanship of Mr. Frank Weatherill of Danby, who understood so well the effect we had in mind.)

Dr. Elgee was already established, and indeed his major work was done, when I got to know him personally. I asked his opinion of the theories of Alfred Watkins in "The Old Straight Track", which interested me at the moment. I was quite prepared for ridicule from an orthodox archaeologist, but while I expounded a quite impressive route (on the Watkins theories) running from Dunsley Bay to St. Bees Head he listened patiently and kindly; then he said, "I can tell you the route of the east-west traffic; but you go on with this: something may come out of it."





At that time Dr. Elgee was contemplating a record of the stones of the Moors, but the ill-health that had been his lot throughout his life made it impossible for him to go where he would have liked. Since I was already tramping the heather on my own quest I offered to be his legs and his camera, and on those terms I became a frequent caller at his home in Comondale and later in Guisborough.

On occasions when the weather was fine and transport could be arranged he would come out, and we visited together Fylingdales Moor, Wayworth Moor and Westerdale Moor on each of which he showed me many things of interest. Whatever the special feature, however, what I really found up there was the man; there he seemed more truly himself.

Unassuming as he was, no stranger would have taken him for the authority we knew him to be; his modesty was very closely akin to humility. He once said. "My wife was Headmistress of a Girls' High School, and she gave that up to marry me! I never could understand what she saw in a fellow like me." I do not remember that I ever heard him laugh, but he had a keen sense of humour and a very engaging chuckle; with great relish he introduced me to the Kai Lung stories of Ernest Bramah.

One outstanding feature impressed me deeply. He was supervising a small dig on Westerdale Moor, without any striking result, when I asked him the probable date of that settlement site. His answer came, "I know, but I'm not going to tell even you until I have evidence that would convince a sceptical archaeologist". Such intellectual integrity earns respect, and also inspires confidence in the pronouncements he did make.

His lore was wide, deep and varied, his observation precise, and his records meticulous and dispassionate. It is not generally appreciated that in this quiet scientist there was a poet of great sensibility. He once exhorted me not to get too much involved with flint implements, "otherwise you'll get into the habit of going about with your eyes on the ground and will miss all this glory around you".

It was my privilege after his death to check the manuscript of his Diary, written, by the way, mostly in the open air. Here was the poet of whom I speak, as well as in the verse published and unpublished. Here I found the elation that was his as he contemplated in its richness and variety the living entity of the Moors. It was a moving passage from this Diary that Lord Feversham read on the occasion of the unveiling of the Memorial, when he was moved to call him "the Great Man". "The Great Man" was known to sign some of his letters "The Man of the Moors".



# **The Story of Gillamoor & Fadmoor**

by Raymond H. Hayes

The local press recently described these twin villages as 'places without history'. It is true no outstanding historical event or personality attaches to them. But as the following account may show, they have a story to tell of gradual growth and survival over a very long period.

## **Settlement**

Why were they founded on the high limestone land, 500 ft. above sea-level, without any regular water supply, and only half a mile apart? The late R. Wilfrid Crosland had a theory that the long line of English-named villages along the northern edge of the marshy Vale of Pickering represents the first wave of English settlements, and that a later influx of immigrants colonised the limestone hills, about A.D. 700, when Cropton, Appleton, Spaunton, Fadmoor, and Gillamoor appeared. (1).

But the ancient names of these latter villages point to an even earlier date than that of Mr. Crosland's theory. Gillamoor in 1086 was Gedlingesmore, 'the moor of the Getlingas'(2). - Inga names are of such high antiquity that they indicate the progress of Anglican settlement during the fifth and early sixth centuries (3). Fadmoor was Fademor (a) in Domesday, and later Faddymor, almost identical with the dialect name given to it by the locals to this day. A.H. Smith is doubtful of its origin, but says "as its neighbour Gillamoor is of very early origin, this name could belong to the same period. An OE personal name Fadol occurs (cf. Faddil Rigg?), also ON by-name Faddi may be of Germanic origin"(4). Both names indicate the proximity of moorland; it is likely that much of the limestone Tabular Hills was heather-clad at this time. Kirkbymoorshead, the medieval name of the market town 2½ miles away, shows the moor must have encroached upon it, and the names Court Moor and Wattlemoor point to its survival until the 18th century, south of our twin villages. These open heaths, along with Boon Hill, were common pasture to the villagers for centuries.

However, hundreds of years before the English settlements people had lived and hunted game on this land. The Corallian limestone did not carry such dense forest as the dales, and was easier to cross than the low-lying marshes of the Vale. Neolithic man left his traces here: leaf-shaped flint arrow-heads near Fadmoor, stone and flint axes at Lowna. And Spring Wood near Kirkby, Stonely Woods, and Bog House at Rudland, all suggest tree-felling prior to the first cultivation of the soil. This took place somewhere in the Neolithic period 4 - 5000 years ago (5). Flints of Bronze Age date are even more

plentiful; some very fine barbed and tanged arrow-heads<sup>(6)</sup>, many skin-scrapers, knives and flakes turn up in the ploughlands every year. The burial mounds of these people can be seen on Harland Moor. Several have gone owing to intensive ploughing; some were visible near High Park in the 18th century; and Creaking Howe stood on the Kirkby boundary, still giving its name to fields at the junction of the Fadmoor-Kirkby-Gillamoore roads. Incidentally the name of this howe may be Celtic<sup>(7)</sup>, as is that of Pen (hill) Nab. The sole relic of the late Bronze Age is a fine socketed bronze axe, ploughed up on Boon Hill above Fadmoor Bank by Mr. E.S. Fletcher in 1966<sup>(8)</sup>.

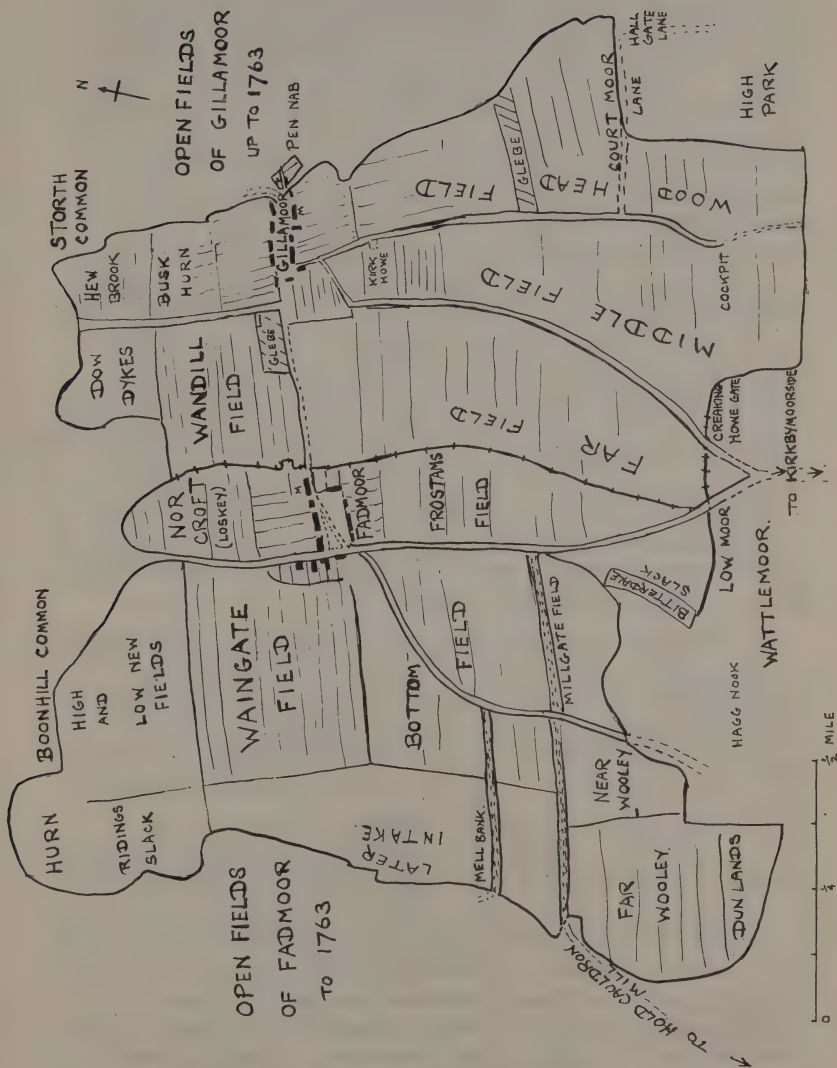
As the land closely resembles that around Levisham, it is most likely that Iron Age folk lived and farmed on the small plots cleared by their predecessors. By Roman times small-holders were settled near Cockpit Reservoir and Hagg Nook; pottery and a coin of Nero from the west side of Fadmoor testify to even earlier occupation. The Cockpit site<sup>(9)</sup> produced evidence of weaving with a loom-weight, suggesting sheep were kept nearby. The pottery here was of the 4th century; Hagg Lane of the same period; and a stray coin of Antoninus Pius may have been lost by someone from these sites in Douthwaite Dale. Since the discovery of the Roman villa at Beadlam, and the native farms at Spaunton and Hutton, it is likely more will turn up in the Gillamoore area. One odd find, from the garden of the Royal Oak Inn, Gillamoore, of a Roman bronze head from a lady's toilet set, makes one wonder whether there was a dwelling of the period in the centre of the village, or whether it was dropped by some inn customer who had found it on his land<sup>(10)</sup>.

### Townfields

We have no indication as to what happened during the Saxon settlement, apart from place-name evidence. They may have found much of the land still under cultivation even though the large estates had vanished in the economic collapse following withdrawal of the Roman garrisons at York and Malton. The Saxons, like the Iron Age people described by Tacitus<sup>(11)</sup>, did not live in towns but preferred open spaces round their houses. They settled by springs, groves, or on open land, as at our villages. They had a kind of single open-field system, changing the ploughlands yearly and allocating land in order of rank. "They plant no orchards, fence off no meadows, water no gardens," says Tacitus, "the only crop is corn". This throws some light on the name given to one of the great open fields of Gillamoore, Wandill or Wand-hill, 'the first staked-out field', which still contained 54 acres in 1763. It was by that date divided into eight strips, including the parson's glebe. It was handy for the village ox-teams to plough (see map of open fields).

The strips north and south of the village were first arable, later gardens or orchards. Gradually as the forest and moorland





were cleared, three more great open fields were added to their holdings, Woodhead and Middle Field (between 120 and 130 acres in each case) and Far Field (148 acres). North of the town fields, between High Lane and the Storth (Brushwood Hill), lay a smaller field of only 16 acres called Busk Hurn - 'bushy corner of land'. North of this on the edge of Boonhill common was another field of the same size, Hew Brook (derivation uncertain), while on the opposite side of the lane was Dow Dykes of about 26 acres. Dow is the same word as Dove and the dykes indicate a vanished boundary dividing the moorland from sown land. These northernmost fields are given on the map of 1763, just before inclosure; how old they were then is not known, but they are certainly more recent than Wandills and may represent intakes from the moor at a later date than the development of the large fields.

Fadmoor had four great open fields. Waingate, immediately west of the village, comprised 73 acres and took its name from the old road to Cleveland which passed through the village - 'the waggon road'. Bottom Field, 113 acres, lay on both sides of Starfits Lane, SW of the village, where traces of rigg and furrow survive. Frostams, 40 acres, lay on the east side of the road to Kirkby, called Onams Lane; some of the strip fields here are called Onans, perhaps an earlier variant (oon or une is a Celtic word for cave - cf. Oon Mouth near Keldholme: there are caves in the limestone near Fadmoor, and the boundary between the two villages is an old, usually dry, watercourse sometimes called the Dale Beck). Frostams may derive from OE frosc or frox, 'a frog', cf. Frostley in Lancs. 12).

The fourth townfield, to the north of the village strips and garths, was Norcroft, of 20 acres only. This is now the holding around Loskey Farm, originally the isolated farmstead of a Viking settler some 1000 years ago. In 1282 Loskey was Loftisco, from ON lopt i'skogr, 'loft in the wood', denoting woodland around the farm which now stands in open fields. Incidentally our dialect name for a wood - pigeon comes from this ON skoggi.

A mile SW of Fadmoor is Woolah (Wooley in 1760). The name may derive from OE wulf - 'wolf', as do many of the Wooleys. It would appear at some time to have been a separate large estate, the survivor of a Roman farm; one Roman sherd and several flint arrowheads point to early occupation. In 1760 it had four fields attached to it; Far Wooley, 52 acres divided between 6 tenants living in Fadmoor; Near Wooley, 24 acres, 17 of which belonged to Wm. Potter at the home farm in 1760; Millgate Field to the east, farmed by Rabanks Pilmoor who held 20 acres - this lay beside the old road to Hold Cauldron Mill which ground the Fadmoor corn; lastly, south of Wooley was Dun Lands, 26 acres, of which Wm. Potter had 6 acres. Later he was to farm the whole 110 acres of Woolah. In 1915 J.E. Wood farmed 226 acres there. More recent intakes are Ridings



Slack on the east edge of Sleightholmedale, and fields around the avenue. High and Low New Fields to the top of Boonhill, 825 ft., consisted of about 100 acres fenced by turf walls; much of this land reverted to heather and was only reclaimed in 1940-45.

Many limekilns and quarries lie on this side; every yeoman farmer of the 18-19th centuries had one, and also a smithy where he or the local blacksmith forged horseshoes and implements.

### Domesday

By the Norman Conquest the townships were well established, farming almost as much land as they did in 1914. Domesday Book in 1086 gives us our first documentary record of Fadmoor; 'IN FADEMORA, 5 carucates to geld, and 3 ploughs can be (there). Waltheaf had one manor there. Now Count Robert (Mortain) has it, and it is waste. Pasturable woodland and field (campus) 10 leagues in breadth. T.R.E. worth 10/-.

What can we make of this? The five carucates are the amount of land under the plough: one carucate was the area one ox-team (4 or 8) could plough yearly - on this type of land possibly 120 acres. This would give a total of 600 acres, which compares well enough with the 580 acres of the inclosure map of 1763. The three ploughs are an estimate only, but even in 1300 there were only five farmers in the village. The large woodland area almost certainly includes Sleightholmedale, the Storth and Broonhill, the town pasture (14).

Waltheaf, the Saxon lord of the manor, lost his lands by taking the side of the Northumbrian chiefs in the attack on York against the Norman garrison in 1068. His manors went to the Count of Mortain, a dull, heavy man who held no fewer than 215 manors. He later lost them when he rebelled against Henry I; his Fadmoor estate went to the Mowbrays, who later sub-let it to the Stutevilles as part of the manor of Kirkbymoorside.

The term 'waste' was thought to show the devastation wrought by King William's scorched earth policy after the sack of York in 1068, but it may simply mean that much of the land deteriorated to heather or woodland; thus in 1282 there is mention of tenants on Harlonde (Harland) Moor, and of certain plots in the waste below Gillamoore Cliff, which all paid rent and must have been worked.

Gillamoore in 1086 was one of the berewicks of Kirkbymoorside; a berewick implied an outlying farm or hamlet, growing barley. Later Gillamoore was held by Hugh, son of Baldric, and is given as 10 carucates; this seems too large, and may have included Fadmoor or Farndale. In 1282 Gillamoore had 4 carucates and Fadmoor 5 carucates, exactly as 200 years earlier. There is no mention at this period of a manor at Gillamoore, although there is now a manor house (farmed in 1968 by John Gibson).

At Fadmoor the ancient manorial site is still the manor farm (J. Stanforth farmed it from 1920s until 1967). It is a renovated long-house, with remains of crucks re-used in the buildings, and with cross-passages both in the dwelling end and the buildings. A horse-mill here was abandoned in the 1940s. The total length of the longhouse is 78 ft., by 20 ft. width. Other buildings in Fadmoor also show traces of medieval origin. Such smaller manor houses were usually no more than the principal farm of the lord, who himself resided in a moated, fortified house or castle, leaving the rest in charge of a bailiff or hide.

### Village Life

The origin of the manor is still debated by historians, some contending that it derived from the Roman villa, others that it was a Saxon-Norman institution. Professor Brooke<sup>(15)</sup> says the manor was a unit of feudal lordship within a village, founded neither on Roman villas nor on late Saxon holdings, but as old as the 6th century Saxon settlement.

Under this system the cottars, ceorls, or serfs lived, and tilled their strips of the open fields; each fresh tenant added his oxen to the village teams, receiving strips of both good and bad land in turn, along with a share in the common meadow or pasture. Such arable strips can still be seen on George Simpson's land in Middle Field, and on John Sonley's in Waingate. They take the form of broad, high, curving riggs, S-shaped, with a wide headland at the ends for the oxen to turn. We spent some time debating them at the W.E.A. class, as it is commonly thought they were designed to drain the land, as was the case with the narrow riggs found on wet land in low country. The high limestone, however, is usually dry, and the riggs were found around all old villages, though now almost ploughed out with modern implements. Everyone had an allocation of riggs or strips, even the vicar, and the lord of the manor normally had the lion's share. The term carucatè, incidentally, was derived from caruca, a wheeled plough described by Pliny in the 1st century A.D. as a new invention of the Iron Age Belgic peoples. It was introduced into Britain by the Romans, or possibly a little earlier, and replaced the native ard, which simply rooted up the soil by cross-ploughing. The heavier caruca had a coulter, share and mould-board; wheels were not essential on all soils, and indeed both wheeled and wheel-less ploughs have been used round Ryedale until present times <sup>(16)</sup>.

The tenants were bound to the manor lordship, and had to work for the lord several days in each month, ploughing, reaping, mowing, hedging and ditching. They could not leave the demesne, or marry off their daughters, without the lord's consent. The lord could



punish them, and on the death of a bondsman he took his best animal as his due. On top of this the Church demanded one-tenth of their crop or stock. Rent and tithes were normally paid in kind, with grain, stock, hens, eggs, or even nuts<sup>(17)</sup>. What small surplus they might have was sold at Kirkby market, already old-established in 1276. Bread was baked in the common oven - there was still one at Gillamoor until recently. The stock was turned on to the open field which was laid to grass when the others were under crop, but the larger portion was turned loose on the commons under the care of herdsman, women or children. Even in the last century an old woman 'tented' the cattle in the lanes of Gillamoor and Fadmoor.

The area between the Rivers Dove and Seven was part of the great Royal Forest, though the Abbot of St. Mary's, York had hunting rights in it. Woe betide any villager who let his cattle stray during the 'close season'. The Coucher Book (1310 - 12 A.D.) gives long lists of fines for this offence:

'11 oxen of John the Forester of Gillingmor, £2/4/0; an ox and 2 stirks of Robert the Iron-smith of Farndale, 7/4; Walter of the moor of Hutton, 5 oxen and a stirk, £1/1/3...' Heavy fines for those days! No doubt too the Fadmoor and Gillamoor men went poaching, just as Farndale men often figure in fines or outlawry for this serious offence (18).

Their dwellings were long-houses, cruck-framed, thatched, and divided by a cross-passage separating humans from animals, often only with a wattle-and-daub partition. If the family grew too numerous, another cruck-bay was added, or the tie-beams boarded over to form a loft. The cross-passage was used as a threshing floor when the 'flail-men' came - hence the term 'thresh-hold' applied to the doorstep. On a suitably windy day, the double doors were thrown open and the corn was winnowed, the breeze carrying off the chaff and dust. This type of house persisted for hundreds of years, only being replaced by substantial farmsteads with separate out-buildings in the 18th-20th centuries. Even in 1900 a writer on the dales commented on the thatched dwellings in Gillamoor. The last example went in the 1950s, replaced by a block of council-houses. Dial House was another of the type, rebuilt in the 1930s, as were the Inn and the old home of the Barker family opposite the church, as well as the manor farm-house before restoration.

Thus a thatcher was in demand. The last of his trade in Gillamoor was David Hornsby, who lived in the cruck-house mentioned above, where the council houses now stand, and who died in 1914.

Evidence from Fadmoor is less clear, but the building at North Farm, the Bumby cottage at the east end of the village, and the former Plough Inn and Post Office block, all show indications of long-house construction.

### Gillamoor Church

St. Aidan's Church, Gillamoor, stands on the very edge of the famed 'Surprise View'. The present building is mainly the work of James Smith of Farndale. His fine memorial stone stands in the churchyard, stating that he 'was a sound workman', and that he rebuilt the church with his own hands in 1802. Nearby is the gravestone of an early Methodist preacher who served as such for 44 years; other slabs carry finely etched copper plates preserving the memory of more 18th century inhabitants. One carries a text in Hebrew characters. The church consists of a nave and chancel under a single roof, but in defence against high winds has no north or east windows. The reredos, screen, panelling and lectern were all installed in 1908, while the pipe organ was moved here from Fairburn Church in 1959. The memorial west window, given by Mr. and Mrs. Harrison Holt, portrays St. Aidan, to whom the building was reconsecrated in 1927, and another local saint, Hilda. Near the churchyard, on the site of a vanished pond, is the 1914-18 war memorial.

There is however an unsolved mystery about this church. It is on record that an ecclesia existed here in the 12th century<sup>(19)</sup>. The present building displays few old features, and there is the problem of the location of the chapel granted to William de Stuteville, Lord of Kirkbymoorside, by the Prior and Chapter of Newburgh. This grant provided for a chapel at Gillamoor and the provision of a resident chaplain, Hugh, "where he could sing daily for the health of the lord of the manor, for his soul and the souls of his parents". Hugh was also granted easements and pasture, hence the glebe land, Canons Garth and Priest's Barn. But in a field down Cockpit Lane belonging to George Simpson is a rectangular mound marked Kirk Howe on the 6" Ordnance map. It does not look like a long barrow or ploughed-down tumulus, and its name may indicate the site of the Stuteville chapel or some earlier lost church. This howe is not on glebe land, and is five minutes' walk south of the village; cases are known, though unusually, of a church being rebuilt on a new site. Only excavation would solve the mystery. Large stones were removed from this site when the pasture was ploughed out in war-time, but no relics have turned up.

### Holdings and Boundaries

A few medieval records tell us something of the life and the people. In 1138-47 the boundary between Welburn, Wombleton and



Fadmoor was described in two charters (20). Boundary disputes figure largely in medieval documents, and those between Fadmoor and its neighbours seem to have been jealously guarded. The Fadmoor boundary makes a very curious turn round a rectangular piece of ground just north of the lane from Gillamoore. It seems to follow the outline of a building. It is precisely this boundary that was the scene of a tale told by John Todd to George Simpson. Legend had it that the boundary was not to be ploughed up at this point, but one farmer insisted on doing so. When he failed to return at nightfall, searchers found him lying beside his horses on the ploughed-up boundary; he was carried home still breathing but died that night. The only words he spoke were "Three black pigs" (21). Another dispute of a different kind concerned two oxgangs of land (30-40 acres) at Fadmoor in 1190. They were given to Keldholme Priory by Robert de Maltby and Emma his wife, and by Jordon de Boltby and Sibyl his wife. The two wives were land-owning sisters from Fadmoor. The gift did not prove entirely secure. An assize held at Newcastle questioned whether Odo, father of Nisant de Fadmore had a claim to two oxgangs in demesne, by then held by Prioress Basilia; at the settlement four years later, she recognised this claim, and her holding was reduced to a single oxgang (22). Nisant de Fadmore reappears in 1219, when he owed half a mark for half a carucate of land in Fadmoor, for a writ of right against William de Herswell. The latter granted two oxgangs to Robert de Fadmore, to hold under Nicholas de Stuteville, in 1221. Twelve years later Nicholas and his men in Kirkby, Gillamoore and Fadmoor were granted rights to move and graze their cattle in the district.

Nicholas de Parker is mentioned, as keeper of the small game park belonging to the Stutevilles between Gillamoore and Kirkby. Other fragmentary clues to the life of those days include a coin of the Scottish king Alexander III, who died in 1286; the coin, a very worn silver penny inscribed 'Rex Scotorum', was found in his orchard by John Sonley. We know that in 1282 Adam de Gillamoore held a messuage and two oxgangs there. And a couple called Richard and Juliana were surnamed 'del Clif' because they lived below Gillamoore Cliff, perhaps at Faddel Rigg.

The tax levied on heads of households in 1301 provides the following names:

<u>Gillamoore:</u>	Walter Swetelof
	Johanne son of Hawis
	Ada Sonlay
	Willelmo Preposito (reeve or bailiff)
	Waltero Percy
	Johanne Belle
	Waltero Pinder (the pinder impounded stray beasts; Pinfold House now marks the site of Gillamoore pinfold)

Fadmoor:            Rogero de Sletholme  
                     Rogero de Fadmoor  
                     Willelmo son of Walter (he had land in Farndale)  
                     Rudulpo Bene  
                     Nicholas le Clay

The first Fadmoor name implies there was a farm at Sleightholmedale by this time. But by 1700 members of the Sleightholme family farmed at Fadmoor.

### Mills and Millers

Fadmoor corn was ground at Hold Cauldron Mill (Kirkdale). Little is known of this mill's origins. It probably got its name from the pool or cauldron where the water of the Hodge (earlier Redover) Beck sinks underground to emerge at Howkeld Mill. A stone removed from a wall near the mill and taken to a garden in Kirkbymoorside was inscribed 'Peter Peat 1784 Hold Cauldron' (23).

Gillamoore Mill was of very early, possibly Saxon, foundation. It is mentioned in 1154 and in 1183, when 'Godfrey, their servant at Gedlingasmore Mill', son of Hyrnan de Gillemor, witnessed a charter of Robert de Stuteville III granting Rievaulx a meadow at Rook Barugh (24). In 1205 Nicholas de Stuteville gave to Keldholme Priory 4 marks yearly in the mill at Gillamoore (a mark was then worth 13/4). The mill continued to grind throughout the Middle Ages, and in 1790 was owned by the Shepards of Douthwaite. They had the mill house rebuilt in 1779, when the miller was a Sigsworth; 'I.E.S. 1779' is carved over the door. John Shepard owned the mill in 1840-60. About 1882 John Baldwin was miller, then Brian Tyreman. It ceased to work in 1895 and was sold to John Baxter in 1912. At that time Joe Ward pulled out the overshot water-wheel worked by wooden water-slabs, not buckets. The buildings gradually fell to ruin between 1920 and 1950, though the house was lived in up to the time it was cold as a weekend cottage.

Lowna Mill, which has already been described (25), was a fulling-mill in the 18th century, and may date back beyond 1300.

### The Enclosures of 1763 and 1770

The open-field strip system that had worked for well over a thousand years began to break down with the increase in population and industry. Wheat imports began to exceed exports in the 17th century, and this led to changes greater than any since Roman times. Under the old system the farmer had to conform with communal custom and was not free to cultivate as he chose. Though opposed by many farmers, especially those with stock on the commons, the

standard solution was the inclosure of unfenced or open lands. The first move in Ryedale came from Thomas Duncombe, lord of the manors of Helmsley and Kirkbymoorside.

Fadmoor township provided the simplest unit in the district, as there were only three freeholders to be consulted. Three local gentlemen acted as 'arbitrators', and their award is dated 1763. Duncombe was given absolute ownership of over 300 acres, while the other three owners had 86 acres between them. All the arable fields were taken over, but 117 acres were left for a common pasture. Sixteen years later this pasture was also inclosed, Duncombe receiving a further 80 acres.

The next move came at Gillamoore in 1770. Here five freeholders and the vicar were concerned, as well as the lord of the manor. It seems that the initiative came from the freeholders, who saw the advantage of individual instead of common fields at Fadmoor, and considered they too could do better if they each had their own land fenced off. As we have seen, there were four large and two small common fields, and each farmer had his strips-mostly of about  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre each - scattered all over them.

The five men approached the Vicar, the Rev. William Comber. In right of the former vicarage house, some time previously converted into a barn (the Priest's Barn), the Vicar owned 27 parcels of land, scattered in four of the fields and amounting to 9 acres, 22 perches, which he let at £3 a year. He willingly agreed to enter into an arrangement, and instead of his 27 parcels he received two small fields, of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  acres. His rent subsequently rose to £6.10.0. The lord of the manor was more than willing to support the scheme. A Kirkbymoorside surveyor, Joseph Foord (he who had surveyed the watercourses), assisted in the allocation of the land to its individual owners. Like the vicar, the four freeholders exchanged their many strips for one or more portions they could fence in and do as they wished with; for pasture each retained his rights on the commons and moors north of the village. The four were awarded 46 acres between them, and the lord of the manor 466.

These awards were by agreement (26). Later, in 1793, Kirkby got its fields inclosed by Act of Parliament, which took 87 days and cost a large sum, and involved objections from the Vicar.

Many fought inclosures in those days, especially of the commons:-

"There is a curse lies hard on those  
Who turn large commons into small inclose".



The poor man who stole a sheep from the common was hanged or deported, they declared, but the squire who stole the commons from the sheep got off free and with cash into the bargain. But inclosures went on, and many people sold their rights, either because they could not make a living under the new system, or, more likely, because they received a good cash offer from speculators. Joseph Shepard of Douthwaite, for example, bought out 40 people in the district.

#### Details of Holdings Before and After Inclosure

##### Fadmoor 1763

##### FREEHOLDERS:

James Hobson	78 acres
Matt. & Mich. Pilmore	8
John Simpson	16

##### COPYHOLDERS (Under the Manor Court)

John & Wm. Sleightholme	104 acres
Matt. & Mich. Pilmore	44
Raebanks Pilmore	26
Thos. Boyes	35
Jonathan Dunning	26
John Chapman	32
Widow Chapman	13
G. Gamble	13
T. Porter (Bitterdale)	32
S. Pudams	6
W. Richardson	3
T. & J. Baker	4
Wm. Potter (Woolah)	67

(Far Wooley was divided between  
J. Chapman, Jon. Dunning, Wm.  
Sleightholme and Wm. Cass)

##### Fadmoor 1796

John Wilkes	138 acres	(£51)
Wm. Sleightholme	115	(£27)
John Proud	104	
Geo. Sleightholme	91	(£55)
Will. Dunning	68	(£36)
John Dunning	58	
John Boynton	38	
Wm. Richardson	15	
Elizabeth Chapman	44	
R. Wm. Potter (New Wooley)	163	
John Waynd (Ankness)	271	(£89)
L. Norminton (Stonely.Wds.)	117	(£23)

(No descendants of 1763 freeholders appear. Ankness - cf. A.H. Whitaker's article on coal-mining in this number - was a holding mentioned with Swinacles as far back as 1282)

By 1796 both the amount of land and the value (Duncombe Estate Office Valuation) had increased. Fadmoor now had 1269 acres, valued at £542.11.0. The common pasture had been incorporated.

#### Gillamoor 1770

Glebe: Rev. Wm. Comber	10 acres
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#### FREEHOLDERS

Robt. Wood	6
Jonathan Cooper	17
Wm. Coulson	18
John Trueman	5
Thos. Hill	4

#### COPYHOLDERS:

Richard Russel	63
Wm. Sonlay	53
Tobias Nellist	28
Robt. Wood	114
John Trueman	15
John Boomer (Bulmer)	25
Thos. Porter	23
Matt. Porter	21
Nich. Green	17
John Chapman	3
John Anderson	14
John Watson	13
John Cook	11
Jos. & Thos Boyes	12
Thos. Hill (4 ac. freehold)	6
Jas. Thompson	21

#### Gillamoor 1796

Joseph Ward	194 acres	(£57)
Rt. Watson	95	
Rt. Wood	81	(£55)
Chr. Russel	88	
Wm. Sonley	202	(£55.10.0)

Geo. Porritt	46	
Wm. Gerrh	93	(£58)
Matt. Potter	43	
John Bulmer	201	(£63)
Isaac Thompson	32	
Rt. Thompson	25	
Tobias Nellist	30	(£21)
John Cook	20	
Jas. Thompson (Jun.)	14	
Thos. Simpson	9	(£6)
Ann Adamson	10	
Isaac Boyes	8	
Thos. Sigsworth	10	
Thos. Huggill	less than 1	
Wm. Raper	2 roods 5 per.	(£1.1.3.)

By 1796 the acreage had risen to 1273, value £537. In 1763 Jonathan Cooper had been described as an innkeeper, Wm. Coulson as a weaver, and Thos. Hill as a yeoman<sup>(27)</sup>. Tobias Nellist served as a juryman in the Kirkby - Gillamoor manor court in the 1780s and his tombstone can still be seen in Gillamoor churchyard. Rd. Russel was a forebear of John Russel the schoolmaster, who erected the sundial by public subscription in 1802.

### Nonconformism

Owing to absentee vicars who left all their work to ill-paid curates, and to the distance folk had to walk to church, non-conformists became strong in the Ryedale and Cleveland districts. Danby was a stronghold of the Quakers in the 17th and 18th centuries. George Fox preached and held meetings there. Thomas and William Baker, who had farms in Bilsdale in 1742, became converts. Earlier, in 1702, George Baker and Margaret Stead, both members of the Kirkbymoorside Friends' Meeting House, were the first couple to be married at the newly erected Hutton - le - Hole Meeting House. Later, Margaret, left a widow, married John Peacock of Farndale. Both were buried in the Quaker burial ground at Lowney (or Lowna) Birks, which was used for for this purpose then and until the 1880s. Matthew and Michael Pilmore of Fadmore were also Quakers. Their names appear as sufferers from 'distrain of tithes', as does that of Nicholas their father.

Joseph Pilmore of Fadmoor and Richard Boardman of Gillamoor were converted by John Wesley at Leeds in 1769, and offered



themselves for religious service. They went to New York where the Brethren had built the first Methodist Meeting House in America. Pilmore settled in Philadelphia, Boardman in New York, but after four years the latter returned to Britain, dying in Cork in 1782. Pilmore returned many years later to his old home in Fadmoor, and preached there at an appeal for foreign missions, the first of such in England (28).

The summer of 1866 saw a large open-air meeting at Fadmoor, lasting three days, to commemorate the centenary of American Methodists. Mr. Sleightholme suggested that a memorial chapel should be built at Gillamoore to honour the memories of Boardman and Pilmore; it was built the following year and still functions as the Methodist Chapel. It is noted for its anniversaries; in the period before 1939 festivities continued for two days with a cricket match on the Monday and public tea, while on the green, coconut shies, roundabouts and all the fun of the fair took place.

Fadmoor already had a chapel by 1836, which functioned until 1967 when it closed for financial reasons and dwindling membership. A small chapel at Rudland, enlarged in the 1930s, was closed by 1950.

The Established Church had its festivals at Easter, Harvest Thanksgiving and Christmas. Harvest Festivals were always popular in the farming community. In the 1920s and '30s there was a festive supper after the Friday evening service in John Spencley's barn, followed by a dance in the schoolroom. When the last load of sheaves was brought in from the fields, accompanied by great rejoicing and a garlanded corn dolly on the waggon, the lads all sang -

"Bless the day when Christ was born,  
We've gotten Mr. Spencley's corn."

Christmas was celebrated by the yule-log and frumerty on Christmas Eve, a service on Christmas morning, and by carol-singers. Boys went the rounds on Christmas morning very early reciting -

"Ah wish ya Merry Kessmas an' a Happy New Year,  
A pocket full o' muneey an' a cellar full o' beer,  
A horse an' a gig, an' a good fat pig,  
Please will ya gi' me a Kessmas box?"

The girls had their turn on New Year's Day. A woman dressed like a gypsy with a doll in a decorated box came round singing 'Vessel Cups' - a corruption of 'Wassail Cups', a very old custom then fast decaying.

John Baxter of Lowna, born in 1877, was a staunch churchman, and organist for many years. He had a remarkable memory, and even when nearly 90 could recall past events in detail. He remembered one of the worst blizzards was in 1882 because so many people were stranded at Lowna on their way home to Farndale from Kirkby market (the old road went by Lowna and the Quaker burial ground). The Simpsons had to hitch all four of their horses to one wagon, and even then had a desperate struggle to get to Gillamoor only two miles away. A man died in the storm on the way to Fadmoor, and Joe Cole had to appear at the inquest as the last person to see him alive. He was riding a horse to the railway station to meet Mr. Baxter's father, who had been at Leeds Leather Fair. He did not attempt the journey on to Lowna but took the train back to Helmsley and stayed with relations. Joe Cole had an exhausting ride back to Lowna, but it did not prevent him from turning out with his uncle Ben early next morning to rescue sheep.

Other hard winters recalled by John Baxter were in 1900 and 1917, but the worst of all was in 1895, when the snow came on New Year's Day and did not melt till April 14th. The mill-pool at Lowna was frozen solid, and even the hides were iron-hard until they were heated by the steam-pipes in the tannery.

### Manor Courts

The affairs of the manors were conducted by the manorial courts, Leet and Baron, held annually, usually in October. They lost their earlier power to try tenants for offences like cattle-stealing, but those that survive still have jurisdiction over the commons and waste. They appointed officials: a reeve or bailiff, a steward, hayward (formerly heggeward, to see no beast broke the hedges), pinder and two 'barleymen' (bylaw-men). Offenders were fined as they still are by the Spaunton Court Leet. Kirkby Court covered Gillamoor and Fadmoor. In 1675 we find recorded in the court books:

John Hardwick fined for letting his fence downe next ye common and corn field at Cracking how gate. (Junction of roads to Kirkby)

George Addamson for breaking Fadmoor impound fold 1/-  
(A common offence, the pinder had impounded his beast and George had rescued it)

In the same year there were six offences at Gillamoor, and fines ranging from 6d to 1/- concluding as follows, and signed on behalf of 16 jurymen:

If Wm. Gamble do not fill up & levill ye mortar pitt between Gillamoore & ffadmoore in 14 day time, after notice is given him, is amercyed to ye lord 3/4.

In 1730 the record of the court states that 'Thos. Simpson holdeth 2 narrow lands, outlands, Woodgate Howl, and lands north of the top of Crackenhow, and several lands in Woodgate' (land means strip in common field) (29). This Thomas Simpson farmed in Sleightholmedale and was not related to the present Simpson family. They have been farmers and shopkeepers in Gillamoor for many years and were noted curers of bacon and ham. The brothers George and Austen Simpson renovated the old long-house mentioned earlier, establishing the present shop and post office in 1906.

### Water courses

The problem of water-supply broached at the beginning of this article was always difficult. For centuries the people had to rely on cisterns, ponds or wells. It was not until 1747 that the self-taught Kirkbymoorside surveyor, Joe Foord, built his first water-course to supply Gillamoor and Fadmoor. Both villages stand at about 500 ft., and he had to bring the water from good springs at Rudland, 300 ft. higher. From the 'Surprise View' at Gillamoor the steep drop northwards makes his difficulties apparent. But Foord noticed that the plateau dipped gently eastwards. He had to find a point where the foot of the escarpment was higher than the villages. He then laid his channel along the side of the hill from foot to edge with a gentle fall all the way (owing to the steeper slope of the skyline, this stretch seems to be running uphill when seen from below). To make certain he had a satisfactory fall away from the hill foot, he built a strong bank two feet high from moor to scarp foot and led the water on top of it.

The average gradient was only 1 in 100, and the cost was stated to be under £100. It is not known whether Kirkby had any financial interest in the original construction, but less than ten years later, so plentiful did the supply prove, the town joined in the scheme and arranged to take 7/10th of the water. 2/10ths were allotted to Gillamoor and 1/10th to Fadmoor. To make sure each township received its correct share, a stone trough was installed north of Gillamoor into which the full stream ran, with carefully cut apertures in different sides, of 7", 2", 1" respectively (30)

The Gillamoor supply continued into a large trough in the centre of the village. Fadmoor had its 'rill' running right down the middle of the green until 1914; the main rill over Waingate continued to supply outlying farms and ponds until 1946. The villages are now supplied - at a much increased charge - with piped water controlled by the Ryedale Water Board. Foord's instruments and a map of his work can be seen in the Ryedale Museum at Hutton-le-Hole.

So we have turned up part of the story of Gillamoor and



Fadmoor. Much has been lost through lack of records, but more will be found by research or excavation. Meanwhile these quiet villages continue to tell their tale to the discerning eye – a tale of gradual or sudden change typical of many upland townships all over Ryedale.

My sincere thanks and acknowledgements go to the members of the W.E.A. classes held at Gillamoor and Fadmoor 1965–68, and especially to Miss F.M. Dunning, George Simpson, J.T. Capron, and the late John Baxter; also to Messrs. John Sonley and Stanforth of Fadmoor.

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## **Notes on Ryedale Churches**

### **No 4**

by CYRIL KING

#### The Evolution and Development of the Medieval Traceried Window

It is remarkable that, despite later repair and alterations to our ancient churches, and despite the virtual rebuilding of so many in our own district during the 19th century, much that is old has survived.

This is particularly true of windows. Within a few miles of Helmsley one may see windows of every architectural period and style, and, what is particularly interesting, the evolution and development of the medieval window is continuously portrayed in one church or another.

It is the purpose here to trace the story of evolution and development in Ryedale from the earliest form - little more than a hole in the wall - to the magnificent Perpendicular windows at Coxwold whose tracery still retains the original stained glass.

The following definition of architectural terms may help:

<u>Cusp</u>	A decoration in Gothic architecture incorporating a small, three-cornered segment added to a stone bar. When a pair is added to a window or door head, the arch is "trefoiled", whilst two pairs result in a "cinquefoiled" arch. A circle may have three, four, or five cusps resulting in a trefoil, quatrefoil, or cinquefoil respectively.
<u>Spandrels</u>	The more or less triangular spaces between a series of arches.

<u>Dripstone</u>	The stone moulding surrounding a window head (or doorway) which protects the window from water running down the walls.
<u>Mullions</u>	The vertical stone bars dividing a window into comparatively narrow "lights".

## I. Evolution

The earliest windows were purely functional. Their purpose was in order to admit light, or in the case of belfry windows, to allow the emission of sound. Although it was desirable to achieve maximum lighting of the church, paradoxically, windows were reduced to a bare minimum, for not only do such openings admit light but also unwanted and uncomfortable draughts. In those days glass was so expensive that its use was restricted to the larger and wealthier parish churches, the cathedrals and the monasteries. The average parish church had to do without and either the windows remained unglazed, or were covered with oiled silk or parchment. The result was that windows were not only reduced to a minimum but were kept very small. Some were little more than narrow slits, and these were inserted high in the wall so that the resulting draughts blew over the heads of the congregation. Churches were dark, gloomy places, cold and uninviting, and this was the general pattern in Norman times.

Good examples of Norman slits remain at Oswaldkirk and at Salton, whilst at Scawton and at Sinnington there are examples of windows rather larger than the slit. All however, are of the same pattern, narrow, vertical openings with rounded tops, set in the exterior of the wall and widely splayed on the interior - a plan which allowed maximum distribution of such lights as was admitted by so small an aperture. (1)

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(1) Belfry windows were in fact more ambitious because here the exclusion of draught was not an important consideration, whilst a reasonably large opening was necessary to allow the emission of sound. Although there are no such Norman windows in Ryedale, there are good examples of late Saxon belfry windows at Hovingham and at Appleton-le-Street. These consist of a double-headed opening divided by a single shaft set in the middle of the wall. A characteristic feature is the long "through stone" over the shaft which extends right through the wall. Similar through stones are inserted at the imposts. This plan differs from the Saxon "baluster windows" to be seen elsewhere in the country. The style is peculiar to North Yorkshire and appears to be a Danish modification of the more usual Saxon style.



Although early windows were purely functional and were regarded- except in the case of the belfry windows - as a necessary evil, gradually they grew in importance, came to be regarded in a new light, and eventually became one of the principal glories of church architecture. The first step was towards the end of the 12th. century when Romanesque architecture with its heavy, ponderous style, its semicircular arches and thick walls gave way to Gothic. The new-style pointed arches and general effect of airiness contrasted sharply with the solidity of the older plan. At first, windows were not affected save that their tops were made pointed to match the new arches. Such windows - the lancet window - represent the earliest form of Gothic fenestration.

At Salton the Norman church was set on fire by the Scots and when it was subsequently repaired (c. 1200) some of the Norman slits were made larger and given pointed heads. These lancets, contained in the round-headed, original Norman splays, remain today and are amongst the earliest in the district. Others are to be seen at Nunington, whilst old lancets have been built into the new chancels at Kirkdale and at Hovingham.

The lancet developed in two ways. In the south and west it tended to become broad, and as the windows became larger it was found necessary to give support to the glass<sup>(2)</sup> which offered too large an area to wind pressure for safety. This could only be counteracted by a clumsy and unsightly iron framework. In the North, lancets remained narrow, but increased in height. Lighting was improved by grouping the tall, narrow lancets, often in trios in which the centre one was taller than the two outer. Often a group of lancets was contained under a common dripstone and this probably suggested the idea of considering the group as a single unit under one containing arch rather than as separate windows. It was but a small step to put this into effect and meant little more than dividing a single, broad window by vertical stone bars, whilst the window head, shaped to form the spandrels was left solid. It was in some such way as this that the stone mullion came into being - probably about the middle of the 13th century. This plan divided a large window into lights small enough to glaze with safety.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(2) It was of course, the larger churches and the cathedrals which set the pattern. As glass became less expensive the parish churches were quick to follow the new trend, but, as one might expect, on a much more modest and more austere scale.

(3) A similar style of window was employed as early as Saxon times where, as at Hovingham and Appleton-le-Street, a double headed opening was divided by a shaft. The style was also employed during Norman and Early English periods - especially in triforia - good examples of which are to be seen at Rievaulx Abbey, but it will be appreciated that these openings were not intended to be glazed.

The development of the lancet is best represented in the chancel at Appleton-le-Street where formerly a row of four very tall, but narrow lancets adequately showed the trend in the north. Only two of these windows together with the springing of a third are now to be seen, the remainder being demolished when the chancel was shortened after the Reformation. Grouped lancets appear at Kilburn and Rievaulx (trios) whilst twin lancets remain in the north and west faces of the ringing chamber at Helmsley. The Kilburn lancets are interesting, for here they are graded and the separate dripstones are joined up - a step towards the idea of incorporating a single, common dripstone. This ultimate idea is not to be seen without going a little further afield, but in the tower at St. Leonard's, Malton, there is a fine group of graded lancets contained under a common dripstone.

The next step followed almost naturally, the piercing of the spandrels decoratively with trefoils or quatrefoils, an idea which had already been carried out in triforia. This is known as "Plate Tracery".

About the same time, a new idea in window design became fashionable - the use of cusps. At first these were applied to window heads - a pair to each light when the lights are trefoiled - but a little later appeared in the tracery as well. Sometimes, where only a small window was required, such as a "low-side" window, a single light with trefoiled head was employed and this only differed from the lancet in respect of the cusps.

During the latter half of the 13th century plate tracery gradually gave way to bar tracery, in which the window head was filled with separate pieces of stone. At first the tracery was of simple geometrical curves, circles, trefoils, quatrefoils etc., but towards the end of the century a much wider variety of pattern was developed. By this time windows were no longer regarded as a necessary evil but had become an important and integral part of church architecture. And indeed they were, for glass was now within reach of the humblest of the parish churches where mullioned and traceried windows were incorporated freely and displayed to advantage.

The final stages in the evolution of the traceried window are shown to perfection in the little village church at Ampleforth (4). The earliest windows, those of the north aisle, are two and three light windows whose lights are divided by stone mullion (fig. A). There is no containing arch or dripstone, but the window heads have been filled with two (or three) large, wedge-shaped slabs decorated with a small, blind trefoil in each spandrel. This shows a close approach to plate tracery and may be dated c. 1250-70. The south windows are of various design, and here, the plate tracery of the north windows has given way to bar tracery, but they show a gradual development from

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(4) See drawings. Although Ampleforth church was largely rebuilt in the 19th century, old windows have been incorporated in the later fabric.

the simplest forms to the more advanced traceried window. One, a two-light window with a stone mullion, has the heads of the lights built of stone bars. There is no containing arch, but the spandrel has been filled with a solid, wedge-shaped slab (fig. B, left). Another, also of two lights, shows a further advancement for it incorporates a containing arch built of stone bar. The spandrel is not filled, and perhaps this is how the first traceried window came into being. (fig. B, right). At any rate, the resulting tracery of the window in question is of the simplest possible form - a single diamond. Others are two and three light windows with a trefoiled or cinquefoiled circle in the tracery, and in these, a further advance is noted (figs. C, D). The sequence of design and development in these windows suggest that they were experimental, a trying out of the new style which was perfected in the magnificent east window, a three-light window containing a trio of trefoiled circles. (fig. E). Here, in the little church at Ampleforth, we come across the story of the evolution of the traceried window written in the stones themselves. Surely this is infinitely finer than any text book and offers splendid opportunity for the local student. In the neighbouring church at Oswaldkirk there are good examples of the earliest traceried windows. These are of the simplest form and have two trefoiled lights, but here the cusps are pierced. There is a containing arch of stone bar, but the spandrel is not filled and the resulting tracery is necessarily a single diamond.

In the nave at Nunnington there are six windows identical with those at Oswaldkirk. The resemblance is so striking that one might think that they were executed by the same sculptor, especially when one considers the unusual piercing of the cusps common to both churches, a feature which I have not come across elsewhere. However, this can scarcely be true; the stone-mason was not the craftsman who executed the Oswaldkirk work, nor was he possessed of the same skill, for here the geometry is at fault, resulting in marked distortion of the tracery which has the curious effect of causing the observer to doubt the evidence of his own eyes. Rather than attributing the windows of the two churches to the same craftsman, it would seem that the Nunnington windows are inferior copies of those at Oswaldkirk.

Two medieval windows in the chancel at Nunnington - although coeval with the above - show a more developed style. These are also of two lights with a containing arch of stone bar, but in this case the spandrel is filled with a quatrefoiled circle and this - like the more developed of the Ampleforth windows - is the earliest form of the true traceried window.

And so the traceried window came into being. The pattern was in itself simple enough but nevertheless, tracery had come to stay and in the years which followed, the style was developed and during the next century took on an endless variety of form and pattern. Later a completely new style - brought about by necessity - in which the window became a show-case for glass rather than for the





A



A



B



B



C



D

c. King



# WINDOWS AT AMPLEFORTH

A: North Aisle    B: Chancel    C: Nave  
D. North Aisle (W.end)    E. East Window

sculptor's art, became fashionable. But all these later windows owe their origin to the simplest forms which in turn evolved from the "hole in the wall".

It is remarkable that in the three churches at Ampleforth, Oswaldkirk and Nunnington, all the stages in the evolution of the traceried window are represented, whilst within Ryedale itself one may come across even the minor developments, the transitional steps and the ideas which gave rise to the various stages of evolution.

## II: Later Developments

In the opening section, evolution of the medieval window was followed through its various stages up to the latter half of the 13th. century when the first true traceried windows appeared. The earliest of such windows had simple geometric curves in the tracery, or the window head might have been filled with trefoiled or quatrefoiled circles. The magnificent east window at Ampleforth - a three-light window with a trio of trefoiled circles in the tracery - was quoted as probably the finest example in Ryedale of this early style of traceried window.

But other windows at Ampleforth are much more primitive. The simplest form of tracery in the two-light window was shown to be a single diamond whose upper sides are formed by the bars of the containing arch, and the lower sides by the bars forming the arches of the lights. The three-light window built in this style would necessarily have three diamonds in the tracery; similarly, four and five-light windows would have tracery consisting of six, and ten diamonds respectively. The pattern of diamonds is formed simply by producing the arches of the lights to the containing arch. This sort of tracery became very popular in the parish church towards the end of the century and is called "Forked Tracery". The introduction of cusps in the tracery of such a window resulted in a pleasing pattern of quatrefoils.

Forked tracery may be seen in one of the south aisle windows at Appleton-le-Street - the aisle was added towards the close of the 13th. century. Here the lights are trefoiled but the tracery is without cusps, and the pattern - a trio of diamonds - results from the produced bars of a three-light window.

After about 1280 a more advanced style of tracery was developed in which the window head became filled with a variety of more intricate patterns, the use of cusps was freely applied to the tracery bars which resulted in a very popular style incorporating long lobed trefoils. But in the parish church - and certainly in Ryedale - the two and three-light window with quatrefoiled or cinquefoiled circles in the tracery, and the windows with a single diamond, or forked tracery are the most common.



The Decorated period commenced with the introduction of the traceried window and consisted of two phases. The first, which has already been described – often called "Geometric" for obvious reasons – lasted until about 1315 at which time quite a new style of tracery was introduced. Instead of the precise geometrical forms hitherto employed, ogee curves were introduced, curves which melt imperceptibly one into another, a very distinctive characteristic which at once identifies the curvilinear window. The new design was one in which the compass and set square played no part, and the window head became filled with the flowing curves of the tracery. The endless variety of form and pattern to which the new style lent itself is reflected in the superb Decorated windows of our cathedrals and great churches of which there is none finer than the great west window of York Minster.

In the smaller two and three – light windows of the parish churches, a distinctive pattern was developed which was by far the most frequently employed for such windows. This was really the curvilinear version of Geometric forked tracery, but the pattern of diamonds was necessarily replaced by a similar pattern of cusped ovals. Such windows – called "Reticulated" – may be seen at Pickering, whilst 19th century copies appear in the north aisle at Helmsley. At Gilling there are two fine Reticulated windows – a two – light and a three – light – in the south chancel, whilst the north wall contains a beautiful curvilinear window of quite a different pattern.

It was during this period that square – headed windows began to make their appearance though it was not until the following century that they were at all common. Such windows – often used where headroom was restricted, such as in the low wall of an aisle – were usually two – light windows with reticulated tracery. The square – headed version of Reticulated was fundamentally the same as the arched window with a single oval, but the window head which cut across the pattern, resulted in a pattern of half an oval, and two outer segments of a quarter of an oval. Such a window had the advantage of these more convenient outer segments, which, in the arched window were very narrow and awkward for the glazier. Yet another idea which appeared about this time was the use of double cusps in the lights, resulting in cinquefoiled arches, but again, this feature became more widely used in the following century.

The Decorated period was noted for its richness of ornamentation and its elegance of style,, but no single feature of its architecture equalled the artistry or the craftsmanship of its magnificent fenestration. But its glory was short – lived, for just as the style reached its perfection, it was cut short by the Black Death about the middle of the 14th century when all building was brought to a halt. During the period of depletion which followed, building was resumed, but a much simpler and more economical style was adopted. The lavish decoration

of the previous period was discontinued and architecture took on a much more austere form. Almost half the population of England had been wiped out by the plague, and the country had become impoverished. It was not until after the year 1400 that it really recovered and became prosperous once more.

The next century saw a great religious revival, and consequently was a major period of rebuilding. But the austere style of fenestration, born of necessity after the Black Death, was retained for it was found to be ideally suited to the display of glass which, due to new methods of manufacture, had become very much cheaper than hitherto. The style was developed to the full and culminated in the great expanse of glass contained within the very large and handsome windows of the 15th. century.

The Decorated period came to a close with the Black Death in 1348, but the style lingered a little longer in the north, as late as 1375 in some places, but towards the end of the century the new style was everywhere firmly established. At first, the windows retained much of the curvilinear character of the previous century, but their mullions were produced through the tracery to the containing arch, and the tracery itself might consist of a combination of both geometrical and ogee curves. Later, there was even a return to the geometrical window, and some of these are difficult to distinguish from Early English.

But the main style which was developed, and which is characteristic of the period, was the rectilinear window. The mullions were continuous to the window head, and the tracery further divided by vertical bars. The resulting grill-like pattern was relieved by curves, but these were reduced to a minimum, and by the use of cusps which had the effect of trefoiling each of the tracery panels. The style was so well suited to the display of glass that such windows tended to become very large and often occupied the greater area of a wall. The larger church tended to become a lantern with just sufficient masonry to provide the necessary strength. In addition the stone transom was introduced into window design with the result that the great windows became broken up into a great number of small panels well suited to both the glazier and the glass painter. Horizontal bars were also used in the tracery, the whole effect being a stiff, grill-like pattern which is very distinctive and contrasts sharply with the curvilinear and geometric windows of the previous period. The beauty of the new style depended upon its magnificent display of stained glass, whilst the older style owed its beauty to the tracery bars themselves.

The finest example of 15th. century fenestration in Ryedale is undoubtedly that of the church at Coxwold. Here the large rectilinear windows of the nave constitute the greater part of the facade, large buttresses between the windows compensate for loss of strength due to such large window openings, a very necessary feature of this style of architecture. At Thirsk similar fenestration is used

on a much larger scale for here the parish church is a large one and a particularly fine example of Perpendicular. The square-headed version of the rectilinear window is to be seen in the south chapel in Pickering church.

In addition to the rectilinear window there were other designs freely used in the parish church throughout the 15th. century. Chief amongst these was a square-headed window, usually of two or three lights, and without tracery. The window head was a heavy, rectangular slab shaped below to form the arches of the lights, above which, small three-cornered blind segments were cut in order to create the illusion of the mullions being continuous to the upper edge of the window head. This type of window appears to have been an all purpose window, a sort of general maid of all work designed especially for use in the restoration of existing churches. At any rate the remaining windows of this kind are so widespread - in most cases where early churches have been restored during the 15th. century - that one is forced to this conclusion. Examples occur at Kirkdale, Old Byland, Ampleforth, Appleton-le-Street, Normanby and at many other churches. Other rectilinear windows - especially square-heads - were invested with curvilinear characteristics such as the 15th. century window in the north aisle at Kirkdale.

A style of window with none of the rectilinear characteristics of the 15th. century was sometimes employed and these were more like the earlier geometric windows. At Crayke, several of the windows are the two-light type with a diamond in the tracery, but here the containing arch is very shallow resulting in the diamond being compressed into a lozenge. A similar style of window appears in the tower at Stonegrave.

The 15th. century was a great period for flattening. Roofs which had since Early English times tended to become less steep were now almost flat with just sufficient rake to shed water efficiently. Existing churches with high roofs came under the hammer and few escaped having their roofs made flat. But as roofs became flatter, so did arches until eventually the depressed, or four-centred arch became the fashion. Window heads followed the new trend which culminated in the depressed arch with square dripstone, a feature which was very prominent during the Tudor period<sup>(5)</sup>. But there were variations; the shallow arches at Crayke are neither four-centred nor pointed but assume the form of a continuous curve whilst their tracery is simple geometric.

The glorious period of Gothic came to a close with the Reformation, and although it lingered in some places much later - and indeed there was for a time a revival of Gothic - it was generally so much inferior to the pre-Reformation style that it became known as "debased Gothic". Renaissance architecture, which displaced Gothic after the Reformation, was in effect a return to the Classical



style of ancient Greece and Rome. Windows were without tracery, simple square openings, often pedimented and with side pillars, or they may have been round headed. During 17th. and 18th. century centuries rectangular windows with stone mullions and transoms were very common. The 19th. century saw a wholesale return to Gothic - Neo-Gothic - in which all styles of Gothic were copied. Almost every ancient church possesses some windows of this kind whilst those founded, or rebuilt, during the 19th. century have windows which are all of this type.

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(5) There are no such windows remaining in Ryedale but at the Black Swan, Helmsley, a typical Tudor doorway, divorced of its dripstone, has been built into the cellar entrance. Curiously enough, the dripstone has been placed over a 13th. century doorway, both of which are embedded in the garden wall of Canons Garth adjacent to the road. The two opposing styles appear ridiculously incongruous. Although a notice in the hotel calls attention to the doorway, claiming it to have belonged to Helmsley Castle, it seems much more certain to have come from the neighbouring Canons Garth when it was restored about 100 years ago.

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## **A 16th Century Murder Case**

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by John McDonnell

Little evidence has yet come to light linking Ryedale with the Pilgrimage of Grace (Oct. 1536). But the Calendar of State Papers reveals one grim little epilogue to the revolt which involved a local man. Following the collapse of Robert Aske's southward march, an intensive persecution of the ring-leaders and of some of the rank and file was set on foot. The promised leniency was qualified by a long list of proscribed names "excepted out of the King's pardon". Among these, in the company of monks and friars as well as laymen, we find two relations of the Priestman family of Newton Grange and Helmsley - "John Prestman of Byllesdale Hall and John Prestman son of William Prestman of Helmsley" (Cal. of State Papers Domestic & Foreign Henry 8, vol. XII, 1537; Norfolk to Cromwell, 23 Jul.).

Of one of these - probably but not certainly the younger, Helmsley man - the Calendar goes on to outline an oddly complex story of murder and judicial retribution. Both Johns made their escape in 1537 to Scotland, though at the cost of leaving a kinsman, Henry Priestman of Brandsby, and his widowed mother, gaoled in York and subsequently condemned for high treason "for receyting (i.e. harbouring) John Prestman, excepted out of the general pardon" (Cal., Dec. 1538 Council of North to Henry VIII). A report of February 1541 (Cal., vol. XV), four years later, on "rebels of England reset in the Realm of Scotland", mentions that one John Prestman is at 'Newbottle' Abbey and calling himself John Hunter. Ten months

later again, another similar list shows the same man, with the same nom de guerre, in association with "one Leche who has been in Edinburgh with George Leche surgeon to the King of Scots". This friendship with Leche was to prove John Prestman's undoing, for after a further year, on 28th Nov. 1542, news came from the Council of Scotland to Sir William Eure (or Evers), Captain of Berwick, of "the unhappy slaughter of Somerset Herald by English fugitives called Will Leche and John Preistman". The Englishmen had been seized and lodged in Edinburgh Castle "to be punissit according to yair demeritis and qualite of ye Cryme".

A fuller account of the murder is dated the following day, 29th November (Earl of Hertford, Warden of the Marches, to Council) and is worth quoting for its oddities as well as for its vividness. "Yesterday evening arrived Henry Rey pursuivant at arms, declaring the shameful murder of Somerset Herald on his way hither (into England via Berwick) with answer from the Earl of Morrey touching delivery of the prisoners in Scotland. Gives reasons for believing that the murder was not done by Leche or Prestman, but by Scottishmen and by commandment." He gives this account of the actual crime: "Having been warned that harm was intended against them, they, Somerset Herald and Berwick pursuivant (Henry Rey), asked for a (Scottish) pursuivant to accompany them, and left Edinburgh on the 25th November accompanied by Dingwall, pursuivant. Two miles from Dunbar (on the coast east of Edinburgh and North of Berwick), as it began to be dark, Somerset and his boy were riding in front when two men on horseback and one on foot passed Berwick and Dingwall, and coming up to Somerset, one of the horsemen ran him through from behind with a lance, while the other struck him to the heart with a dagger, and the third struck down the boy with his sword. The horsemen then lighted off their horses, and the pursuivants rode up saying 'Fie on you traitors, ye have done a shameful act '. Then they ran for their horses, one saying to the other, 'Fie we have lost the other heretic', which Berwick hearing, spurred his horse and escaped. The strange men then returned to the body of Somerset, which they spoiled of all save doublet and hose, and gave the boy ten bloody wounds, and bade the Scottish pursuivant witness that they were John Prestman, Will Leche and his brother, banished Englishmen who had slain Somerset."

At this point in his persual of the Calendar the reader must certainly be struck by the same doubts as the Pursuivant Rey seems to have felt. Why on earth should these two expatriates have gone to the foolhardy lengths of stating their names to an eye-witness of the crime who was also a Scottish law officer? Was the whole thing a 'frame-up', an example of that same devious statecraft which Henry and Norfolk had already employed so deftly in their dealings with Robert Aske and the other leaders of the Pilgrimage six years earlier?

Subsequent entries in the Calendar make the answers to these questions plain beyond reasonable doubt. But it should first be explained that at this time England and Scotland were in a state of intermittent border warfare. Leche and Priestmen indeed admitted in their statements that they had taken part, on the Scottish side, in the 'Lawder raid' a year earlier. Somerset Herald - Thomas Treheron - had visited Edinburgh under flag of truce to negotiate an exchange of prisoners taken in that and similar skirmishes, and the letters he was carrying - or rather, as it turned out, which Rey was carrying and got away with - concerned these negotiations and not, as his assassins seem to have thought, secret information about the former Pilgrim refugees.

Following a personal interchange of letters between Henry VIII and James V, Priestman and Leche (a native of Horncastle) were escorted to the border and handed over to the English authorities. They were interrogated by the new Warden of the Marches, Lord Lisle, and the Bishop of Durham, who reported to the King (Cal. vol XVIII 9 Jan. 1543) that they had "examined the prisoners apart showing them how unlikely it was that in a strange country they should do such an abominable deed and so forfeit their refuge, unless comforted thereto" (i.e. put up to it). Leche refused to go further than the statement he had already made in Scotland, but Priestman did make a fuller confession, after which both men were sent south to London. The last we hear of them is in the minutes of a Privy Council meeting on the 22nd January 1543, when a letter was sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower of London "to receive Leyche and Priestman who slew the King's herald in Scotland" (Cal. vol. XVIII). Since their lives were already forfeit for their part in the Pilgrimage, it may be presumed that they were executed shortly afterwards.

Of the two statements appended to Lisle and Durham's report of the 9th January, the first is the joint confession of both men, made in Edinburgh, written in Leche's own hand and signed by him and Priestman. Its rather vaunting opening is presumably designed to appeal to Scottish sympathies: they were banished from England "for taking part in 'one general commotion for maintaining of Christ's Faith, Holy Church, honor of our native crown, realm, nobility and commonwealth' and have lived six years in great indigence and dread. At this time of 'sharp wars', seeing that our enemies sent in spies which are the chief key of victory' under colour of messengers, who were said to ... carry treasonable letters, we thought both to revenge our old displeasures and take the said letters and the men as prisoners of war. 'And as the sex men were ryding in compeney and we, but tway nakd men wt. ane suerde and ane finger dart, raide by yem and sawe yem, wt. owt armore.. or saffe cundithe (safe conduct) contrary to ye lawe off armies, I ye saide William badde Somersede yelde hym, wch. said he walde not, wherefore I maid at hym and he at me so yt., wt. long pyngle wt. daggers, he was slane; and in ye



meantyme ye said John was besy wt. ye yong man wch cryed Help Hary Rey, Helpe Hary Rey, wch Hary, for fere off takyng off his treasonable letters, fledde wt. spede off horse.... We declared ys. for owr tway acte wt. owt any art or part off any Scottes man or any others. And apon yt we gaffe ye foresaid yong man his lyfe....' Then, taking their weapons and purse, with five angels, four crowns and sixteen pence, English, we came to the sanctuary for safety."

Apart from minor discrepancies as compared with Rey's version of the affray, this account implies that Leche was the leader in the affair, and Priestman's supplementary statement to Lisle and Durham bears this out, with the additional possibility that Leche was privy to some official 'comforting' on the part of the Scottish Council or members thereof. Priestman also makes it plain why they told the Scottish pursuivant their names (though whether Leche's brother, the surgeon, was with them must remain an open question). "We fled into Scotland," he begins, "and were accepted with King James, who commanded us to remain in the abbey of Newbattell and of Cowpere. We were ever suing for some living or else licence to pass to other countries, but were put off from day to day in great indigence..." Asked what should move them to kill the herald rather than Rey or any other Englishman, he answers that "they had no matter propensed to Somersett, but determined to kill the first of the three they could lay hands on. The cause was that, after the army of Scotland was "skaled", they perceived themselves in less favour...and concluded that to do some cruel or mischievous deed to Englishmen would bring them into credit again; so they went to the King, and Leche said there were certain Englishmen in Edinburgh who he thought were spies and should not go unpunished. The King made no answer "but looked towards them and with his hand made a certain sign, whereupon they gathered that he forced not though they had a shrewd turn". After that they went to the King's secretary, Mr. Erskyne, and sued to have some living or be put to some service or have leave to seek the wars in some other country, for they were sure that when this war ceased they should be delivered to the King of England. Erskyne answered that they should have no such fear, for if they killed the King of England they should not be delivered, and they should shortly have wages by the Cardinal's command. (They also saw the Cardinal in person; and subsequently Leche, but not Priestman, was summoned by the Cardinal to the Council.) "Then, hearing of the going home of Somerset and the other Englishmen, and being kept in poverty, they thought some cruel deed was expected of them; and so concluded the slaughter, which they thought to do within the 'bound road' of Berwick (i.e. not on Scottish soil), but, as their horses began to fail, they were constrained to do it sooner. No man asked or counselled them to do the deed, but 'they might well perceive by their fashions that they would have such a thing done'....The third man was a lad hired to run apart

and bring back their horses, which were borrowed. Leche's brother was made privy of this, 'but, when he perceived their intent was to murder, he refused to go with them'. Leche's brother has always urged them to sue for the King's pardon."

So two foolish thugs were constrained by the subtle political and religious undercurrents of those troubled times to commit a heartless and pointless murder. And so John Priestman set forth on his journey to the Tower expressing his "regret that through ignorance and in general commotion he conspired against the King and so deserves death, and also that he committed the cruel death of the herald Somerseyd, who represented the King's own person, and so is unworthy to come to the King's presence".

There is a pathetic tailpiece to this sordid story. We cannot be absolutely sure which of the two John Priestmans was sent to the Tower in January 1543. But we do know that the Helmsley man's parents died, William in the very same month, and Margaret, the mother, that summer. Neither of their wills (Borthwick Wills, XI 645, 693) makes any mention of John among their other children, but he must surely have been in their minds, if the news of his fate did not actually hasten their deaths.

(Based on Sandwith Papers, Ledger IV, and sources quoted)

## **The Kirkdale Curate seeks a rise**

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by Rev. A.W. Penn, lately Vicar of Kirkdale, now of Brompton, Cumberland.

In 1967 the Morley Commission proposed the abolition of private patronage in the appointment of incumbents in the Church of England. The present system, or perhaps one should call it lack of system, has a very long history, stretching back to the beginnings of the parochial system, and is mixed up with questions of Church and State relations, the monastic system and tithe. The parish of Kirkdale has in the parish safe a series of letters, which illustrate vividly the history of ecclesiastical patronage, the tangled relations of lay rector, lessee of tithes, curate and Archbishop, and the primitive business methods, employed by a great university only 150 years ago.

In 1808 George Dixon was curate of Kirkdale and received an annual income of £32.10.0. He had formerly been assistant curate to William Comber of Kirkbymoorside and had carried out Comber's additional duties at Kirkdale, so when he became Vicar of Helmsley it was natural that he should accept the curacy of Kirkdale also. In all he served the parish for close on 50 years.

The parish of Kirkdale had been granted by Roger de Mowbray to Newburgh Priory in 1145. At the dissolution it passed in turn to

several laymen, the last of whom was Henry Danvers, Earl of Danby. In 1621 Danby gave to Oxford University the site of the former Jews' Cemetery by the river Cherwell, as a Physic Garden. Later a lofty stone wall was erected round it, and a handsome baroque gateway facing Magdalen College across the High. In his will Danby left

'the impropriate rectory of Kirkdale in Yorkshire...for the purpose 1. of paying £40 to a gardener, 2. of building a house for a gardener, 3. of defraying the necessary expenses of the garden; and then (if possible) establishing a Professorship.  
(Oxford Historical Register Supplement 1910-1920)

The University drew the tithe revenues of the rectory and were (and are) patrons of the living. The revenues were spent on the upkeep of the Botanic Garden, as it is now known, and were administered by a Delegacy for the management of the University estates, under the supervision of the Vice-Chancellor. The Professor of Botany seems to have been largely responsible.

In 1808 George Dixon became dissatisfied with his £32.20.0. a year, especially as it obliged him to keep a horse and a curate. He claimed that 'the present salary does little more than pay for the keeping of a horse which is indispensibly necessary to serve' the parish. The parish was upwards of 14 miles long (it then included Bransdale West Side, as well as Welburn, Skiplam, Nawton, Wombledon and Muscoates townships), and had a population of nearly a thousand. What gave Dixon hope of an increase, was that an inclosure had increased the value of the University's property. (This was presumably the inclosure of Nawton Pasture in 1787, the award for which is in the care of the Vicar of Kirkdale). The University leased the tithes to a Mr. Whytehead of Nawton Grange, who paid an annual rent of £60 and was liable to a heavy renewal of lease every seven years. Dixon wondered how an augmentation could be arranged.

On 16th September he wrote to the Vice-Chancellor and to Dr. Williams, the Professor of Botany, stating his case. He pointed out that there was no house for a curate, that duty was performed every Sunday, and that the income consisted of an annual stipend paid by the lessee (£10) a glebe field (£5), rent of land purchased by Queen Anne's Bounty (£15), and surplice fees (about £2.10.0.), and he tactfully touched upon the late inclosure. He seems to have received no satisfaction. However, a few years later John Wrangham, Archdeacon of Cleveland, who had a particular interest in the parish, as he had married one of the Robinson sisters, joint heiresses of the Welburn Estate, called on Dixon at Helmsley and the matter was raised again. Wrangham suggested that an opportunity might



occur for him to consult the Archbishop about it. When nothing happened for a while, Dixon wrote to remind him of the details.

'The ancient and accustomed duty was seldom and irregular, in Mr. Comber's own words "perhaps once, sometimes twice a month", but after Mr. Comber took it (being resident in Kirkbymoorside and also having a resident assistant) he had it in his power to attend (which he did) every Sunday and since my appointment to it I have done the same. The congregation is good and as I have served it for Mr. Comber and myself upwards of 30 years I feel unwilling to give it up or abridge the duty'.

On 29th December 1812 Archdeacon Wrangham replied to say that he had discussed the matter with the Archbishop, who held out some hope. He suggested that by laying it before 'the people of principal respectability and influence at Oxford' he might procure some addition, but it would be unlikely to be much. Wrangham ended by saying how glad he was that Dixon's son liked Cambridge, and that he trusted that by this time he would have been noticed, through the Archdeacon's influence, 'by one of the ornaments of the university, Mr. Caldwell of Jesus'.

In the meantime Dixon had written again to Dr. Williams, and on 14th January 1813 Williams replied,

....You are aware I imagine that the question of renewal is now before the University. Early in December I wrote to Mr. Piper of Pickering, the agent of Mr. Whytehead, on this subject. I apprised him the Univ. had not determined yet on granting a fresh renewal. In the meantime I suggested he would send us any information in his power respecting the value of the property in general - and particularly an account of the effect of the late inclosure - and of the lands belonging to the University - together with an extract from the award.

He had asked Piper about surveyors in the district who might be employed to carry out a full survey and noted that only eight or nine years previously Piper had stated the gross value of the rectory at little more than £200 per annum. At this point the curate's part in the business becomes apparent.

In this stage of the business you will see at once that your local knowledge will enable you to furnish us with very material assistance - both as to the circumstances of the Rectory generally, and the

probable value of the tithes, and as to the proper person to be employed in taking a survey and regular valuation of the parish.

On the 5th February Dixon wrote to the Archbishop, enclosing a statement, and begs leave to say 'that if your Grace see any impropriety or have any delicacy in presenting it to the University, I humbly hope it may not be done. My idea was that if it got to the delegates through such a Channel it was the more likely to be attended to; and a little addition would enable me the better to pay a curate, which Helmsley alone can ill afford to do.'

In the enclosed statement Dixon pressed his case hard.

...should I resign it, I cannot see how it can possibly be taken care of by any other person. Besides having served it as Assistant Curate and Principal for upward of 32 years, and being happy in having good congregations at present, I feel unwilling to neglect the inhabitants by remitting my duty; particularly as an alternative omission might induce some of my flock occasionally to resort to the Methodist meeting.

How far the University may have it in their power to increase the curate's salary I cannot say, as it, the stipend of 10£, appears to have been settled in the year 1632 when Henry Danvers, Earl of Danby, founded the Botanical Gardens to the University of Oxford with these tithes for its maintenance. And it may be presumed that a suitable provision for the curate's support was implied in the grant and ought to increase with the increasing property.

Before sending this important letter, Dixon had sent it for the Archdeacons' perusal, asking him to make any alterations he thought fit, or, if he thought 'his Grace had rather not be troubled with it, pray burn it.' One fruit of the Archdeacon's influence is also recorded, that Dr. Procter in Cambridge had had the younger Dixon to tea!

The result was most gratifying for on 5th April the Archbishop wrote briefly to say that he had arranged through the Bishop of Oxford, for the Dean of Bristol, one of the Delegates of the University Estates, to endeavour to arrange either an addition to the annual stipend, or a benefaction to obtain an augmentation from Queen Anne's Bounty.

Things were moving fast, for on 8th April Dr. Williams was able to inform Dixon that the Vice-Chancellor and Delegates had decided to employ a Mr. T. Hornby, whom Dixon had suggested, to make a survey and valuation.

We presume you will see no objection to the plan proposed - it may be in your power perhaps to assist it

materially and we shall be obliged to you for such assistance as far as may be consistent with your connection with the parish of Kirkdale and your other engagements....

You are fully aware the business of Kirkdale has been long in agitation in the University.. In all our considerations here your former letters and the very inadequate remuneration of the Curate has never been lost sight of. The communications lately from the Abp. of York will of course contribute to the acceleration of the measure, which is so obviously necessary.... I am authorised to say that more decisive steps will soon be taken (in the course of the next term) on this subject.

In July Hornby's valuation was complete and Williams found it very satisfactory. Less satisfactory was the Long Vacation, which would prevent any action being taken till the Michaelmas term. He also mentions that an unaccountable delay had occurred in the business of augmenting the Curacy.

...but the wish of the University is to increase the endowment by the purchase of land. The proposal is to vote in Convocation next term £400 for this purpose - the equal or perhaps a larger sum it is hoped may be obtained from Queen Anne's Bounty.

He suggests that Dixon should both enquire about a suitable purchase, and about the method of securing the Bounty's assistance.

Such rapid action could not be sustained. Nearly three years later, on 15th April, 1816, Dr. Williams wrote to say,

I am sorry you have remained so long in suspense but I have no concern with carrying into execution the arrangements of the University regarding Kirkdale. I was not aware of the actual circumstances of the case. It was certainly decided as you already know in Dec. 1813 to augment the stipend by the addition of £50 per an. At the same time it was proposed to make a donation of £200 - and this was communicated to the Governors of Q. Anne's Bounty. ,

Since your letter I have spoken to the Vice Chancellor on the subject. He was not in office in 1813 - but he now perfectly understands the intentions of the University with respect to Kirkdale. Perhaps in consequence of some business at this instant and his absence from the University for a few days, there may be some short delay - But you may be assured the Vice Chancellor will not long forget the application. I



imagine when he has considered the question he will write to the lessee and authorise him to pay into your hands the 50£ per an. in the same manner as he now does the antient stipend of £10. I am sorry you have been so long deprived of this advantage.

With regard to the endowment, there was still confusion, The £200 promised by the University has not been called for, and Williams suggests that Dixon should try to unravel this with the Bounty and then write direct to the Vice-Chancellor. He suggests that further delay will be unfavourable - 'as probably a purchase of land may be now secured on more equitable terms.' Dixon's inquiry to the Bounty received the following answer.

...I beg to inform you that in 1813, the University of Oxford proposed to augment the Curacy of Kirkdale, by giving £200 in order to obtain £300 from the Governors, but this intended augmentation has not been further proceeded with, the £200 not having been paid. In 1810 Kirkdale was augmented by the Governors, by way of lot, with £200, as not then exceeding £50 a year, and in 1814 with £1200 from the Parliamentary Grants on account of population, in which augmentations the University had no concern.

On 11th September Dixon wrote to the Revd. Thomas Lee, D.D., the Vice-Chancellor, about the implementation of the 1813 decisions, but his letter is marked in his own hand 'copy never sent'. However, Dr. Lee wrote from Trinity College on 28th January 1817 to say,

I took an early opportunity, as circumstances would permit, after the receipt of your letter, to lay it before a meeting of Heads of Houses, and I am instructed to remit the enclosed draft to you for one hundred and fifty pounds; being the increased stipend allowed by the University to the Curacy of Kirkdale, for three years, at the rate of £50 per annum, commencing from St. Thomas 1813.

Even with regard to the annual £50 Dixon's problems were not yet over, for in the following year Dr. Lee wrote on 9th February to say,

I am extremely sorry, that from the variety of business connected with the office of Vice Chancellor it did not occur to me, that your increased stipend from the University, as Curate of Kirkdale, was due at St. Thomas last. I have enclosed a draft on Child's for

fifty pounds for the year's stipend due at that period,  
which I will trouble you to acknowledge the receipt of.

The problem continued, for Oxford Vice-Chancellors have short periods of office, and on 23rd January 1819, Dr. Hodson wrote from Brasenose College,

I regret extremely that I was not sooner apprised of your claim upon the University, and I will take care, if I am in office another year not to be so tardy in my payments.

He returns to the matter of the valuation of the rectory.

If your residence on the spot has enabled you to form an opinion upon the value of our Kirkdale property now compar'd with Mr. Hornby's estimate, and if there are no personal considerations to restrain you, I should feel oblig'd, as I am sure the University would, by your communicating it to me unreservedly.  
Dixon obliged.

The amount of Mr. Hornby's valuation... of the Kirkdale property belonging to the University was £377 per an. and now upon inquiry, I find that Mr. Whytehead's receipts the last year (1818) wd not be less than £477. Whether or not it is likely to maintain that advance I cannot ascertain without a detailed valuation, but it must always exceed Mr. Hornby's estimate.

Dr. Hodson's payment next year was more prompt. It was dated 27th December. In the meantime Dr. Williams had queried Dixon's figures, suggesting that Hornby's £377 was a nett figure. He raises matters of unredeemed tithes and variable payments and the improvement of agriculture since 1815, and once again asks for confidential information. Dixon's reply states that although his previous comparison was an invalid one, the 1818 nett value would be £408. 'To this sum Mr. Hornby says the Lessee's profits are quite equal.' He is convinced that rents are at least as good and variable payments increased on account of the claim for agistment tithe. (Agistment = agreement to feed cattle on one's land.)

In 1822 the new Vice-Chancellor, G.W. Hall, wrote from Pembroke College on 25th January to send the draft and apologised for it having escaped his memory before.

Something went wrong with the 1820 renewal, and in 1823

Williams wrote again to ask for information. 'The property is of a very perplexed description - and we have no local knowledge to assist us.' Dixon, as always, was ready to help, and sure that the value was no less than previously (agistment tithe having compensated for any depreciation in rents). Here, however, the correspondence comes to an end. An examination of the old terriers shows that the £200 granted by Queen Anne's Bounty in 1810 purchased two closes of seven acres at Appleton-le-Moors, the Parliamentary Grant of 1814 two closes of ten acres at Beverley, but no record seems to exist of a further augmentation of the endowment by the University. However, the £50 stipend continued to be paid on St. Thomas Day or as soon after as the Vice-Chancellor remembered it. To the present day the Vicar of Kirkdale receives as part of his stipend, an annual payment of £25 from the University, but it now comes as a cheque from the University Chest, with no covering apology from the Vice-Chancellor.

## **Helmsley Inns & Alehouses in the Victorian Age**

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by J.H. Rushton.

The origins of Helmsley's public houses have yet to be disentangled, but the record of their life during the reign of Queen Victoria is very full indeed. Certainly the community and its visitors were once served by more brewsters than in the 19th. century. In the national survey of 1577 Ryedale in its entirety was recorded to have 17 inns - a very large number for that time - and 140 alehouses. Helmsley's share will have been considerable and may later have increased. Some 20 alehouses were reported at the town during the 17th. century for their failure to take out licences, and in 1659 one Helmsley gentleman was granted a wine licence. Issac Cooper's record of the old tradition that there were once 26 alehouses in the town at some unspecified earlier date may well be proved correct, though a few of these houses could have been in outlying parts of the parish. Their beginnings will relate closely to the town's economic and social history - the early multiplicity of manors, the 12th. century founding of the borough, the retention by the de Ros family and their successors of the Amendment of the Assize of Bread and Ale, combined with the burgesses' retention of the market tolls, and the early granting of substantial properties to the Church, the monasteries, and to a hospital. At Pickering, where a list of 14th. century brewsters survives, each can be shown to have connections either with manor, church, borough, monastery, grange, or hospital, apart from one or two doubtful cases. Generally it was the larger institution or the wealthier townsman who set wife or servant to brewing for sale.

Early licensing by manor lords and ecclesiastical corporations holding liberties was replaced slowly by licensing through the Justices of the Peace. Their efforts in Elizabethan and Jacobean times to secure effective licensing were slow to achieve success and were



pursued with varying emphasis. During the early part of the 18th. century, and again in the second quarter of the 19th., ale licences were easily obtained. The Georgian Gin Acts sought to promote ale against spirits, and in many places the working of the 1834 Beer Act was similar in effect, encouraging any wheelwright or blacksmith to take out a licence for small expense. More local influences could also operate to expand the number of alehouses - borough custom governing ale - selling on market days and fair days, hirings and holidays; the 18th. century Helmsley development of linen manufacture with its "thirsty" weavers; and the development of horse stagecoach and railway traffic with its incentive to the wealthy to invest in higher standard inn accommodation.

At the close of the 18th. century, the opposite trend was more evident. The linen manufactory at Helmsley was in decline and the working class alehouses probably suffered loss of trade. A hundred years later it would be said that "the town has no manufactures". Possibly more important still was a change in the attitudes of prominent local people. William Gray, the Steward of the Duncombe Park Estate and Dr. Richard Conyers, Vicar of Helmsley, were earnest Evangelical supporters of Wilberforces' movement which led in 1786-7 to the Royal Proclamation against Vice and Immorality, part of a national effort for the Reformation of Manners which set justices to work closing licenced houses, and which integrated closely with the national revival which re-invigorated Helmsley's Anglican Church and led to the formation of chapels of Independents, Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists. The tradition that Helmsley men went on Sundays to play ball and patronise alehouses influencing many town households at Rievaulx has been thought to connect with Mr. Conyer's influence. Among Helmsley bankruptcies in those reforming days were Ann Williamson, innholder, who assigned all her effects to Mr. Humphrey Sandwith, surgeon and Ralph Watson the saddler for her creditors in March 1785, Richard Peacock, Hemsley innholder, bankrupted in the same year and George Thorpe innholder at "Thorpe's cottages" (now part of the Feathers Hotel and a building attributed to the 15th century), bankrupted in 1782.

With a static economy, Helmsley's population showed little increase when compared with other local villages and towns in the 19th. century. When the Beer Act came into force Richard Simpson set up as beer retailer, as did William Seamer, baker, in Ryegate c. 1834-40, perhaps reviving older alehouses, but many a village saw more new foundations and these were but shortlived. Meanwhile older houses continued to fall out of business. The Green Tree Inn in Bondgate became a bakehouse. Benjamin Simpson's Lettered Board, run in conjunction with a butcher's shop, and a brewing, malting and spirit supplying business seems to have given up ale retailing for on-consumption by 1840. Richard Bulmer's Queen's Head Inn, listed as a posting house in 1840, and in 1730 known as the Sun Inn,

ceased to function soon afterwards. By now an active temperance movement was also at work.

The confined trade fell in fewer channels with considerable benefit to the survivors who competed with each other for a varied trade. The first major reconstruction was probably that of the Black Swan during the 18th century, its older structure being buried within a Georgian frame. Its old yard - thick rough stone walls, adzed oak ceiling timbers and great open hearth were shielded by a facade of sash - windows and dignified portal. The changes were probably made by innholder and tanner Ralph Sandwith after the 1757 - 8 opening of the Turnpike Road from York to Oswaldkirk Bank Top, whence vehicles continued to the Black Swan at Helmsley. As Helmsley's principal stage - coach inn the Black Swan had coach - houses built to add to older stabling in the yard, and provided horses for coaches on the York - Kirkby Moorside, Thirsk, Scarborough and possibly even the Stokesley runs. Its new function was probably influential in causing the experimental Helmsley races of 18th February 1771 - a brief flat racing season of one day - one race. Carey's Travelling Companion of 1791 speaks of the Inn as the terminus of the run from London. At least one visitor's bill survives from those days of negus, brandy and port, topped by an elegant printer's crest. It is probable that the public diligence of c. 1815 ran here from the Elephant and Castle, Skeldergate, York, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays via Oswaldkirk, to meet the Thirsk, Kirkby Moorside, Scarborough diligence taking visitors to that spaw. The Highflyer coach came here c1834 - 40 from York's Black Swan and York Tavern, beginning at Richmond and carrying on to Kirkby. It ran from Helmsley's Black Swan, Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 9 a.m. to York. The port of call of the Victoria coach running York - Helmsley - Kirkby Moorside in 1841, and the Queen coach which c. 1836 linked Helmsley and Scarborough with the Pickering - Whitby horse railway, with only two coachmen and no guard, are not known.

The New Inn was another Victorian casualty but in a sense is continued in another of the town inns - built to replace it. This interesting property was built c. 1808 - 14 and was held in the latter year by Charles Harwood with an outbuilding in Castlegate and 71 acres of land. The Inn is identified with the site of today's estate office. From c. 1823 Thomas Coates, gentleman and currier was joint proprietor with John Tate, followed by a William Tate. When John Cole, the Scarborough printer called in 1825, he described it as having "excellent accommodation" and as "the usual place of call for visitors to Rievaulx Abbey," the ruins of which were attracting increasing attention from the growing body of gentry tourists, as prints showing its "romantic" scenery circulated. The inn was offered for letting in 1824 as a "commodious and much - frequented inn" with "excellent stables, coach - houses and cellars" "well adapted for carrying on an extensive business". Briefly it claimed to be the only "posting House" at Helmsley.

In 1831 and 1838 the inn was again offered for let by the Duncombe Park Agent, Mr. Phillips of Beadlam, the advertisement in the former year mentioning a brewhouse but by 1855 the inn had been turned to other use, as a land agent's house. In its place, John Shaw's Bay Horse Inn of 1840 was rebuilt c1855 and renamed the Feversham Arms. It was used in the next year for the supper to celebrate the birthday of the Hon. William Ernest Duncombe, a "sumptuous repast" which followed the Helmsley coursing meeting.

Helmsley's major inns each saw considerable structural improvements during Victoria's reign to raise tone and improve standards of accommodation, and as part of a policy of estate improvement which altered the town's appearance between 1845 and 1862. Many old houses were pulled down and new ones built. Others replaced thatch by slate, and black and white timbered fronts by smooth facades. The Golden Lion Inn, Market Place, a black and white house with double gable front which had taken Dorothy Wordsworth's fancy in 1802 as she and the poet rode through towards Brompton by Sawdon, was rebuilt c.1855. The Royal Oak Inn was rebuilt c.1861 and looks Victorian to the core. The Black Swan was modernised, receiving Jacobean panelling from the church in the sixties and at an unknown date received masonry from the castle or elsewhere, some of which went to make a rockery.

Helmsley's oldest surviving inn would seem to be the Crown, well recorded since the 17th. century and probably with a long existence before. In contrast with many other inns it occupies a very ancient site which does not have the appearance of being an encroachment on open road. Associated with the Rookes and Garbutt families in the 17th century, and the Sandwiths until 1742 when the freehold was sold to Thomas Duncombe, the lord of the manor, and Sandwith's licence moved to the Black Swan, it was managed by John Cowen a tallow-chandler for the greater part of the 19th century. It probably saw improvement in the 50's when it became the Crown Hotel, but was sometimes known as the Crown Commercial Inn, though it was a posting house and had family trade. Its old 17th. century rivals - the Manor House or Inn at the old Gatehouse of the Castle run by the Conners family, and the Olde Inne run by the Spences and Garbutts - had long since ceased their trade and been replaced. Whilst not really a coaching house the Crown did send a horse omnibus to the White Swan and Wagon and Horse's Inns at York c 1865-72 thrice weekly, giving it a share in the long distance trade.

Travellers from afar brought a considerable fillip to the Helmsley inns in the latter part of the Queen's reign. The development of the Gilling branch railway in 1853, and the Gilling-Pickering line of the North-Eastern Railway in 1874-5, provided an avenue along which the growing body of middle class tourists could reach Rievaulx. By 1856 an omnibus left Helmsley at 6.20 a.m. and 4.50



p.m. to meet the trains at Gilling, returning at 9.19 and 7.54., tickets through to London being supplied by J. Wiley, its Bridge St. proprietor. A visitor to the Black Swan in 1875 spoke of the "small omnibus, half-yellow, half-black" "at the door ready for the railway station". Visitors meant guidebooks whose authors made some sharp assessments of the services offered by the inns. To Murray in 1867 the Black Swan was the "best, but indifferent". W. Ridley Makepeace would "unhesitatingly" recommend visitors to stay at the Golden Lion Hotel, one of the two surviving black and white houses. "Very ably-conducted", said an 1843 visitor to the Black Swan, where 13 years later the Yorkshire Architectural Society enjoyed an ordinary for 5/6 a head. Another of 1875 spoke of the hotel's luggage cart pulled by a donkey called Jenny and yet another in the early 20th century spoke of the "doorway of marbled pillars, its heavy clematis wreaths of Tyrian purple dye, its window sill boxes full of dazzling scarlet geraniums" and the well carved Black Swan, "life size swimming overhead". In 1880, the published May visitors' list included Dr. and Mrs Teale and family from Scarborough; Joseph Wilkinson Esq from York, Mr. Dawson of Lincoln, Mr. T. W. Cransby, Oxford; Mr and Mrs Challoner, York, all at the Royal Oak, and at the Crown Hotel, Mr. Kinghorne Smith of Hull and Mr. Bonsfield and party. By mid-July the Black Swan had 33 visitors from all over the country, the Royal Oak 34, the Crown 14 and the Golden Lion 5 apart from children. A special train from York in 1896 brought 300 to the Helmsley flower show. July of that year saw the Feversham Arms "patronised by a most fashionable company and the other hotels busily engaged". In August there were visitors by the hundreds, the hostels and private lodging houses besieged and "never for years past" had there been "such gaiety and pleasure seeking".

As well as serving visitors from afar the inns continued to serve the villages on market and fairdays and the townspeople every day but in changing ways. Busy times were the Martinmas hirings when the villages were full. Helmsley's November hirings were fixed according to "Helmsley Muck Fair" which in 1856 was on Thursday 6th November; whatever market day fell before it was the first hiring day, whether at Kirkby, Pickering or Helmsley. Men had money in their pocket - one Helmsley man even hired himself three times in one day and did well out of hiring pennies. Great interest was taken in trends - the girls very independent in 1897 for £20 a year for housekeeping, strong young girls £12-14; those out a couple of years £8-11, and young girls, first time £5-7. Another annual beano was Helmsley May Fair when the market filled with donkeys for riding, stalls and swings, and the innkeepers were sometimes nearly "eat-out". It was traditionally believed to derive from the execution of Ann Boleyn - an event viewed with approval in Helmsley's Catholic days. Easter Monday was another holiday when the Helmsley apprentices spent the day playing knurr and spell. There were wakes when the innkeepers

hired out their silver tankards, and Christmas-ales, when all the Helmsley tradesmen received a couple of pheasants and a hare each from the Earl of Feversham.

More exceptional occasions brought alehouses custom. There were the 1856 Crimean Peace celebrations, combining fireworks, bellringing, cannon firing, the inns flag-decorated and a triumphal arch near the Market Place, topped by a transparency representing Britannia seated on a shield with a British lion at her side and a broken cannon at her feet, the Temple of Concord in the distance and the Angel of Peace crowning Britannia with a wreath of olive. At 1.30 the friendly societies and schools marched off from opposite the Crown Inn. 900 partook in the market-place tea party that followed, including the workhouse inmates. There followed jumping in sacks, blindfold wheelbarrow, climbing a 60 ft pole for a leg of mutton placed on top, races for ribbons, an open-air dance, a bonfire, and fireworks with two bands. It was a good day at the alehouse. Again in April 1881, visitors at the Crown watched the band play Saul in the Market place for the death of Lord Beaconsfield. The Diamond Jubilee, June 1897, saw the processions again including the Helmsley pierrots on a waggon but this time the sports were in the bowling green and 1000 had meat tea in a marquee on the Castle Hill.

Victoria's reign was the age of societies and associations for thrift, sport entertainment and good works. Most attached themselves to one or other of the inns, or to a chapel. The early Volunteers - 136 men of the Helmsley Infantry under Lt. John Sootheran and 82 Cavalry under Capt. Charles Duncombe - in 1806 were restored in the popular militant movement of Imperial days. F. Company of the 2nd Volunteer Battalion, Princess of Wales' Own (Yorkshire Regiment) had a strong Helmsley force, who regularly opened the "Volunteer season" with a dinner, dancing in 1881 "on the light fantastic toe, to the music of Harker's Quadrille Band" and with drills on the bowling green. B Troop of the Yorkshire Hussars rode for a day's shooting and adjourned to the Crown Hotel. Again in 1897 at the Black Swan, F company did ample justice to a capital spread, following with loyal toasts and music well into the night. This April event opened a year which closed at the assembly rooms of the same hostelry where Mrs Robinson brought in a magnificent boar's head to a room decorated with flags, festoons, banners, and military devices arranged by Serjeant-Major Matthews for a fashionable and numerous assemblage, all concluding at 5 a.m.

Among the Friendly Societies, the oldest was the Orderly Society, formed at the Golden Lion in 1767, but in 1897 its July annual gathering was at the Feversham Arms, after the members had perambulated the town and attended church for a sermon, headed by

the Bilsdale Brass Band. At the lodge-room, Mrs. Armstrong had the dinner waiting and the Vicar presided. July saw each year in the eighties a Club Feast Day when the societies combined their events. In 1881, the Orderly Society followed the Hawnby Band, and the Friendly Society followed the Rievaulx Band, the Oddfellows the Helmsley New Band, and Druids wandered bandless before separating to go to their respective inns "who vied with each other to have a good set out". The next day the Juvenile Oddfellows had a meat tea at the Golden Lion. The Royal Druid Friendly Society had its registered office at the Royal Oak in 1897, the members paying in 1/6 a month to help provide sick pay and funeral expenses.

Sports too had their organisations and favourite hostelrys. The Duncombe Park Cricket Club of the 50's played at the park, Lord Feversham "with his usual liberality" providing an excellent luncheon, an evening meeting following the game to "audit the accounts". The annual Cricketers' Ball of 1897, a rather select event, saw 40 couples "rise to revel on the light fantastic toe" till 4.30 with the Helmsley String Band "a guarantee of good music". The Bilsdale Ploughing Society had their matches and luncheons at the Buck Inn, Chop Yat in 1880. Tom Cooper of the Duncombe Park Football Club, on his marriage in 1897, became proprietor of the Crown and was there presented with a picture of Helmsley Old Castle by moonlight. Only the ladies - who had revived the stool game - a fore-runner of cricket - at Helmsley in March 1880, with two Ladies' Elevens attracting many tourists to see their play, failed to follow the practices of adjournment, though Miss Smith of the Crown Hotel was the highest scorer at a celebrated match that year.

Most town events took their start and finish at the inn. The Helmsley Bachelor's Ball was at the Crown in 1856 with Moon's Quadrille Band, an annual event. The Sinnington Foxhounds came to the Black Swan, also the Town jury and the estate tenants for the rent audit, here too was the Excise Office in 1823. December 1897 saw the Liverpool firm of George Hadfield, manure suppliers, give a dinner for 50 local patrons. There were presentations: at the Feversham Arms Hotel in 1897 to A.T. Smailes, Secretary of the Duncombe Park Football Club, the vocal entertainment including a sketch "the hungry man from Clapham". Again and again the cloths were withdrawn, and the interminable toasts rolled on into the long night.

More mundane events were the timber and bankrupt sales at "William Pape's the Oak Tree" in the 20's and 30's. Carriers called regularly at each house - the transport hauliers and poor man's taxis of their day; Robert Pearson from Scarborough at the New Inn in 1829, William York at the Black Swan running to Stokesley and John Haxby to Pickering in 1864, others from the Bay Horse to Stockton on Tees;



W. Boston from the Crown to Kirkby Moorside. Less official callers who created a stir were the dark figure who switched off the gaslight at the Black Swan in the taproom before attempting to remove a piece of beef from the meat-safe, the banjo-player who was sent to York Assizes after a fracas in the Feversham Arms in 1864 and the character who in an unnamed place removed "Sammer's splendid side whiskers and heavy moustache" from one side of his face in March 1880, so that he had to have the other side cut off. He swore that "if ha tach him drunk I'll tut hivery air of his head off".

The Victorian alehouse sounds jollier at a distance than it was in reality. The labourer "in liquor" who died at the Golden Lion in 1856 was the other side of the coin, and the neighbour presented for stealing poultry from the Royal Oak yard in 1880 yet another. Men at Helmsley repeated with delight the story of Tom Smith of Sproxtton who in a drunken orgy committed slaughter because his wife had borne him no sons and was gibbeted at Tom Smith's Cross but the tale reflects the savagery which was never far from the Victorian surface. Other Victorians saw the "demon drink" as cause rather than effect of the poverty, crime and other social evils of their day, and they were more numerous than we care to remember. The second half of the 19th century saw the temperance movement gather strength. The Helmsley Literary Society gave Robert Pearson a platform for his talks on the evils of intemperance and tight-lacing on the human frame. Soon there were the societies formed, pledges taken, bands of hope recruiting the children. The Helmsley Church of England Temperance Society could gather its 50 men members in 1880 for joint of roast beef, leg and shoulder of mutton, ham and rabbit pie and gallons of hot coffee, the Rev. F.O. Chambers portraying the struggle with drink as a conflict between the Holy Spirit and Satan. The Wesleyan Temperance Society in 1897 could muster large and interested audiences where Mr. John Atkinson took the chair for a piano solo and a humorous dialogue on "women's faults". The new schools and the chapel Sunday schools influenced the children. Soon there was a milk retailer, the Ryedale Cocoa House in Castle Street, Mrs. Charlotte Atkinson's Coffee Rooms at Town Hall and Mrs. Elizabeth Hezeltine's Refreshment Rooms in High Street. Temperance accommodation became an alternative to the inn. Even the water supply was improved and Atkinson's and Bowe's mineral waters gave an alternative to small beer for the children. Falling tea prices and the cut in beer strengths in World War I made temperance in the end possible.

It remained for the 20th century to complete the raising of inn and alehouse standards, after a long struggle now largely forgotten. Helmsley began the development early because of its interest in the visitors' trade. Partly it was achieved by national legislation, the suasion of magistrates and the efforts of Serjeant Bustard and his eight constables. Partly it was technical invention - the new lighting, the plumbing: sanitation and hot and cold running water necessary for

each to attract visitors in a competitive trade. Partly it was the development of large-scale breweries taking over the smaller which had survived late at the Royal Oak and the Bay Horse. Partly it was local government and local estate policy raising accommodation standards, and public services.

Source:-

Forthcoming publication - The Inns, Taverns and Alehouses of North-East Yorkshire. J.H. Rushton

## **Coal Mining in Bransdale & Farndale in the 18th Century**

by Arthur H. Whitaker

This essay is based almost entirely on the original documents deposited by the late Earl of Feversham in the County Archives at Northallerton (Catalogue No. ZEW 262 and 230). I am grateful to the Executors of the late Earl of Feversham, and to the County Archivist, Mr. M.Y. Ashcroft, M.A., for permission to consult these documents and to publish some of their contents. I acknowledge particularly the ready help I received at the hands of Mr. Ashcroft, and his staff, on the occasions when I visited Northallerton.

The first unequivocal evidence of mining activity on the moors above Bransdale and Farndale is an Indenture dated 1715. By this document Thomas Duncombe "of Helmsley castle" agreed to

"Demise, Grant, Farm and Lett"

to a Fadmore yeoman named Matthew Ford

"All those veines of coal now opened in a certaine plaies called Anknese lying at the lower end of Bransdale.....with the liberty of sinkinge three new shafts or pitts upon the said Moore to the said veines adjoining".

For this privilege Ford was to pay a yearly rent of £100, and Thomas Duncombe was to have the right to collect "at the coal mine's head" forty chaldrons of coal "at such times in the year and in such quantities" as he pleased. By an Act of Parliament of 1700 the chaldron was declared to consist of 53 cwts., and Mr. Duncombe would therefore be in receipt of over 100 tons of free coal per annum.

The Indenture makes it quite clear that Ford was not the first to work the pits at Anknese - they were already opened when he signed the agreement - but there is no indication as to whether these

# Measurement of the Collieries the Property of C. S. Duncombe Esq<sup>r</sup> in the Year 1704

**Rudland** Variable Thickness of the Seam 7, 6 1/2, 5, 4 1/2, 4 1/4 Inches L. S. D  
 Meas. 3<sup>rd</sup> Aug. Mean Thickness 5 1/2 Inches —  
 Content of Pitt No. 1 — 1026 1/2 Yards  
 D<sup>r</sup> — No. 2 — 872 D<sup>r</sup> —  
 D<sup>r</sup> — No. 3 — 1612 D<sup>r</sup> —  
 Total — 440 1/2 Sg. Yards  
 w<sup>th</sup> after the Rate of 10. 6. 7 p. Cus. Due to C. S. Duncombe  
 Esq<sup>r</sup> by William Sturdy the Sum of — 16. 13. 6 1/2  
 Nov. 10<sup>th</sup> 1704 Paid —

**Swinkal** Variable Thickness of the Seam 8, 7, 6 1/2, 6, 5 1/2, 4 1/2, 3 Inches  
 Meas. Aug 5<sup>th</sup> Mean Thickness 5 1/2 Inches —  
 Content of Pitt No. 1 — 1760 Sg. Yards  
 D<sup>r</sup> — No. 2 — 800 D<sup>r</sup> —  
 Total — 2560 Sg. Yards  
 which after the Rate of 10. 6. 7 p. Cus. Due to C. S. Duncombe  
 Esq<sup>r</sup> by Henry Baldwin & James Craven the Sum of — 9. 13. 10 1/2  
 Nov. 10<sup>th</sup> 1704 Paid —

**Blakey** Variable Thickness of the Seam 10, 11, 16 1/2, 15, 11 1/2, 13, 12,  
 Meas. Aug 10<sup>th</sup> 11 1/2, 8 1/4, 7 Inches. — Mean Thickness 13 Inches  
 Content of Pitt No. 1 — 720 Sg. Yards  
 D<sup>r</sup> — No. 2 — 1164 D<sup>r</sup> —  
 D<sup>r</sup> — No. 3 — 1008 D<sup>r</sup> —  
 D<sup>r</sup> — No. 4 — 528 D<sup>r</sup> —  
 D<sup>r</sup> — No. 5 — 846 D<sup>r</sup> —  
 D<sup>r</sup> — No. 6 — 868 D<sup>r</sup> —  
 Total — 5074 Sg. Yards  
 w<sup>th</sup> after the Rate of 10. 6. 7 p. Cus. Due to C. S. Duncombe  
 Esq<sup>r</sup> by John Featherstone the Sum of — 45. 8. 6 1/2  
 Nov. 10<sup>th</sup> 1704 Paid —



pits were the first of the Duncombe coal - mining enterprises. By 1786 there were seven collieries operating, as follows:-

Rudland - rented by William Sturdy  
Swinikal (Swinacle) - rented by Henry Baldwin and J. Craven  
Blakey - rented by John Featherstone  
Ankness - rented by Luke and Wm. Normington  
Weather Cote (Sleightholmdale) - rented by Benj. Barrowclough  
Carr Cote (Bilsdale) - rented by Issac Holmes  
Harland Head - rented by Thomas Ward.

This number never seems to have been exceeded

Easily the biggest of these collieries at this time was at Blakey where six pits were working and where the seam of coal varied between 18 inches and 7 inches with a mean thickness of 13 inches. From at least 1770 the rental of the collieries had been calculated as so many pounds per acre. In that year the agreement signed between Thomas Duncombe and William Sturdy for the renting of Rudland Colliery to the latter rather optimistically quoted a rate of £100 per acre "where the seam of coal admits of thirty inches in thickness, and in proportion more or less according to the thickness of the seam or bed of coal". In fact the highest mean thickness of seam ever worked at Rudland at this period was  $9\frac{1}{2}$ " (in 1801), and the rent paid by Sturdy in 1786 was only £6 - 13s -  $6\frac{3}{4}$ d. In none of the pits was there a seam approaching anywhere near thirty inches.

In 1790 more pits were opened and were referred to as the Upper Rudland Colliery, the older pits being known as Lower Rudland. In 1786 there were three pits at Lower Rudland covering a total area of 4404 sq. yards. The largest area ever being worked at one time here during the decade 1791 - 1801 was 17,568 sq. yds., in 1800. The average area of a pit seems to have been about 1000 sq. yds, so it would seem that at its height in the 18th. century the Lower Rudland Colliery was operating sixteen to eighteen pits.

In a Memorandum of 1791 written by Mr. Seaton, Thomas Duncombe's agent, he reveals that at Blakey,

"the seam here very near done tho' a few Lime Coals may yet be got. I requested Featherstone to try for coals on the soft Moor west of Blakey where I have heard some of the colliers say there was some left, but the work was very bad on account of the bed rock laying right upon the coal and through which it rained down so that the men were continually wet - Featherstone says will put down a pit and try to work it".

No success, however, attended Featherstone's efforts, for in the following year (1792) Seaton reports

"Featherstone put down a pit west of Blakey but the coal not worth following".

Two miles south of Blakey, at Sledshoe, a certain John Ryley offered in 1791 to re-open some old colliery workings there, but the 1792 Memorandum reports unfavourably on the results:

(Ryley) "has got a few Lime Coals this summer and being of soft mucky (or mushy?) quality farmers don't wish to buy them unless such a time as last summer when no others are to be had".

Other problems beside those of failing seams, poor quality coal and bad working conditions beset the colliery operator. Commenting in 1792 on the fall in production of coal at the Rudland Colliery, Seaton quotes Sturdy as saying he can't get men:

"the colliers say there is a good reason for it which is that at the approach of winter when the lime-burning is about over he pulls down their wages which causes a deal of them to go and seek work elsewhere".

There is a familiar ring about this complaint as there is also about its reverse aspect, as the industrious Mr. Seaton reports in a Memorandum of 1793.

"Heretofore the Farmers of those Collieries sold coals at about six shillings per chaldron: they afterwards raised the price to 7 shillings, 7s. 6d., 8s, 8s 4d, 8s 8d, and now to nine shillings and fourpence per chaldron alleging this as a reason - that the workmen have advanced their wages so that they can't afford them under. The Colliers have indeed advanced their wages to a shameful height; they work 7 or 8 hours a Day and a good hand will earn from 18 to 25 shillings per week".

But the colliers are not the only villains in the story. Mr. Seaton continues: -

"This does not appear to be the only cause why coals are so dear. The Farmers of those Collieries when they lay on an advance which they say is owing to the advance in their men's wages will lay near as much more on as profit to themselves".

It is possible from the Feversham documents to get a fairly clear general picture of the way in which the coal was mined, though many details, particularly measurements, are missing. From first to last the operation was carried out by manual labour, the only 'machine' of which there is any mention being the 'turn gear' or windlasses by which the coal was brought to the surface. In the first place a vertical shaft was dug down to the coal seam to be worked, and from the bottom of this shaft a tunnel, or tunnels were dug following the seam until it either disappeared or became too thin to work. As we have seen, hardly one of the seams would have been considered worth working by present day standards.

There is little to indicate how deep the shafts were sunk, but one document gives a faint clue. It is an inventory of tools and materials bought off Benjamin Barrowclough by John Rush when the latter took over the lease of Weathercote Colliery in 1787. The first item reads

"Low pit sinking, 9 yds (one third wrought)      £1 - 4 - 0"

We might reasonably hazard a guess, therefore, that the usual depth for a pit shaft was between 25 and 30 feet. No clue is given anywhere in the documents as to the diameter of the pit shaft or the size of the tunnels, but both must have been at least big enough to allow the miners to manoeuvre the corves (or corfs) - wooden 'barrows' shaped like a truncated pyramid into which the coal was placed - from the coal face to the surface. No measurements are given for these corves, but those in use at Old Byermoor Colliery, near Newcastle, in 1746 were 34" in length, 31" in height, and sloped from a breadth of 38" at the base to 34" at the 'mouth'. In 1787 the corve in the same area held about 5 cwts. Whether the method of propulsion along the tunnel was by means of wheels or runners (as on a sledge) we are not told, but it seems fairly certain that the full corves were hauled up to the surface by ropes attached to two windlasses, one on either side of the pit shaft: the inventory mentioned above referred to "2 pair of turn-gear". It also lists "4 landing boards"; presumably when the full corve reached the surface it was swung over on to one of these boards to be uncoupled from the windlass ropes, thence to be wheeled or dragged away to the coal dump from which the local farmers would load their waggons.

At the coal face the miners worked a system known as the "board and pillar" method. The "board" was the miner's working place, a length of about three or four yards of the actual seam. Between one board and the next was left a pillar to support the roof. In the Duncombe mines it was laid down in the terms of the leases that this pillar must be three feet broad; it is also made clear that

Memorandum made the 22<sup>nd</sup> Day of April 1782  
that Charles Slingsby Duncombe Esq. hath to Farm  
Set unto Anthony Stonehouse and Thomas Ward a  
Colliery call'd Harland which the said Thomas Ward  
hath Drilled in and is now fit for working. And they are  
Agreable to pay after the Rate of 40 £ when the seam or Bed  
of Coals is 10 Inches thick and so more or less in  
Proportion to the Thickness of the Seam and to have ~~twice~~  
and other wood for props according to the Agreement of the  
other Collieries belonging to Charles Slingsby Duncombe  
Esq. - and farther it is agreed that they will leave at least  
half a yard of Coal between every Board in order to support  
the Roof and to keep the Drain in sufficient repair. and  
if at any time hereafter they should leave the said  
Colliery. shall leave according as a working Colliery —

Witness

Joseph Good

Anthony Stonehouse  
Thomas Ward



these pillars are not to be included in the measurement of the mine for the purpose of assessing rent.

The leases also contain a clause that a lessee shall be allowed "wood for carrying on the said works as has been customary heretofore". One immediately thinks of pit-props, but in fact in only one of the documents are these mentioned. This is a Memorandum of April 1782 in which Anthony Stonehouse and Thomas Ward agree to lease "a colliery call'd Harland which the said Thomas Ward hath Drifted in and is now fit for working". Harland, then, was a drift mine i.e. one which was excavated horizontally into the hillside. 2 following the coal seam. The Memorandum continues with the provision that Stonehouse and Ward are to have "Birk (i.e. birch) and Eller (alder) wood for props according to the agreement of the other Collieries belonging to Charles Slingsby Duncombe", but, as I have said, there are no references to props in the other agreements. It would nevertheless be a very reasonable assumption to suppose that all the mines used pit-props to support the roof in addition to the pillars already mentioned.

Though these moorland pits were of no great depth, the problems of drainage and ventilation existed just as in mines of much greater depth. It is not possible from the documents under discussion to obtain any clear picture of how these problems were tackled or whether the methods were satisfactory. As early as the Indenture of 1715 there is mention of "soughs (i.e. adits) for draining and drying of the said Coalmines"; in the Harland Memorandum there is a stipulation that the lessees must "keep the Drain in sufficient repair"; and amongst the items sold by Barrowclough to Rush easily the most expensive was a "water level" for which Barrowclough charged £3 but which Mr. Seaton estimated was worth £5, and so added two pounds to Rush's bill! These facts demonstrate that something was done to drain water from the mines though details of exactly how this was done are missing. In a similar way, all the leases make reference to the undertaking of the lessee to keep the "air-gates" clear. One assumes that 'gates' is used here in the northern dialect sense of 'ways' or 'passages'; and this reference again evidences the existence of some kind of system for ventilating the mines; again, however, it is not discoverable from the documents how this was done.

The coal produced at these moorland pits does not seem to have been of very high quality - rather the reverse. There are hints in the memorandum of 1791 and 1792 made by Mr. Seaton that this is the case and that the chief use to which the coal was put was for lime burning. It is generally accepted that a great deal of re-building of farm houses and buildings took place in the latter half of the 18th and early part of the 19th century; certainly most of the

farm houses in Farndale seem to have been re-built at this period replacing thatched cottages of which Oak House is now the only surviving example. Large quantities of lime for mortar would therefore be required in addition to that needed for dressing the fields. As a household fuel coal doesn't seem seriously to have competed with peat and turf, but it may have been acceptable to blacksmiths who could always rely on a good draught to keep it burning.

The period between 1770 and 1800 seems to have been the hey-day of the moorland coal pits. As we have seen, by the 1790's some of the seams were running out and some of the pits were no longer worth operating. The Feversham file contains no documents relating to the working of the pits after 1800, but that some coal-mining activity was carried on well into the 19th century is evidenced by cases which appeared before the Kirkby Moorside Court Leet. In 1821 James Lund of Harland was fined "for two pits left open without any covering". Thomas Abbey was fined in 1823 and again in 1829 for the same offence along with George Moon and his son William, Joseph Jackson, and Henry Baldwin. In 1854 a Henry Baldwin (presumably son of the former Henry) was indicted before the Court for "leaving his coal pits unfilled up" and fined one shilling. For a similar offence in 1856 - "leaving his coal pits in a dangerous state" - he was fined ten shillings. A careful scrutiny of the Court Leet presentments throughout the 18th century reveals no mention of any offences connected with the moorland pits, and the frequency with which such offences occur after 1800 suggests that the industry was in a run-down and haphazard state.

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As a tail-piece to Mr. Whitaker's study, Mr. Hayes contributes the following account by from Mr. Charles Green late of Rudland, now living at Kirkbymoorside and over 80 years of age, who actually worked such a pit sixty years ago:

The two pits Mr. Green worked in co-operation with his brother Jack where sunk by his father in the early 1900s. They were situated just east of the Rigg road on the northern edge of the large group at grid ref. SE 656946. They went down seven yards to a 12" seam of oolitic coal. The shaft was 6 ft. wide by 3 ft. 6 ins.; a wooden frame held up the sides, which were soft lias shale. Heather was packed between the sides and the frame to prevent frost damage. The coal seam dipped from east to west, and was followed by driving shallow drifts as much as 15-18 yds in each direction. These were timbered and propped, 4-6 ft. in width but only just over 3 ft. high. The roof was bad in places, and falls of loose shale or sandstone occurred, especially near old workings.

The coal was mined with a short pick; it was hard, hot work in cramped conditions, and leather kneecaps had to be worn. There was a constant risk of foul air. If the wind was westerly it was dangerous to go down; there would be a sulphurous smell, and if the light, a candle stuck in a clay ball, went out, that was the signal to retreat.

The coal was extracted in large lumps and loaded into a carrier called a 'corf', a strongly made wooden box on sled-type runners. About 3 ft. long by 2 ft. deep and 1 ft. 9 ins. wide, it had stout metal handles to which a wire cable was attached. When full it weighed about 1 cwt. It was man-hauled to the foot of the shaft, a wire cable let down from above was fastened to the handles, and it was slowly hauled to the surface by means of a simple winch consisting of a wooden roller on a metal rod turned by a washing-machine type of handle. Some pits had horse-gins for this purpose. Two men formed a team, Charlie and his brother, sometimes helped by their father who taught them the trade. The top of the pit-shaft was protected by double trap-doors with a hole in the centre for the wire cable. Access was by means of a wooden ladder fixed to the timber packing on the sides of the shaft.

Carriage from the mine was by horse and cart, and the coal was used mainly for lime-burning at Mell Bank Quarry at the top of Sleightholmedale. The Greens only worked the pits part-time, as they ran a small-holding as well. Their sister, Lily, sold surplus coal at Gillamoor, Fadmoor and other villages. After 1914 the lime-kilns closed down and no further mining took place at Rudland.

## **Reviews**

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Bryan Waites: Moorland & Vale - Land Farming in North-East

Yorkshire: The Monastic Contribution in the 13th & 14th Centuries.

Borthwick Papers No. 32. York: St. Anthony's Press, 1967

New reasonably priced publications on north-east Yorkshire history are always welcome, particularly when they turn the spotlight of enquiry on little-known periods and subjects. Those produced as "Borthwick Papers" by the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research of the University of York have the further merit that they make available to a wide readership the results of up-to-date research published in a compact and eminently readable form. The 32nd booklet in this series has been written by Bryan Waites, a senior lecturer in Geography at the City of Leicester College of Further Education, well-known locally for his contributions to the history of medieval farming in north-east Yorkshire in such publications as the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, "Geography", and the Transactions and booklets of the Scarborough and District

Archaeological Society. He has now written "Moorland and Vale - land Farming in North - East Yorkshire, the monastic contribution in the 13th and 14th centuries".

The events of the Norman Conquest period seriously reduced the extent of settlement, cultivation and stock-rearing in north-east Yorkshire. During the period that followed, recovery was initially concentrated on certain lay manors, leaving considerable areas waste. The proprietors drew heavily on these waste manors, lands, and pastures to make their contributions to the establishment and expansion of the north-east Yorkshire monasteries, large and small, of old and new orders, which contributions, supplemented by large scale monastic land purchase in the 13th century, not only made the district one of the densest areas for monastic settlement and property ownership but also made possible the power, scale and influence of such great houses as Rievaulx Abbey, Whitby Abbey and Old Malton Priory. Within their spheres of influence, recovery was materially furthered by the monastic contribution to resettlement, renewed cultivation of unused land, the breaking up of new land, woodland clearance and marsh drainage. Alongside some community villages and in place of some waste villages the monastic grange, pastoral, arable or industrial, was their new vehicle for exploiting moor, dale, vale and coast.

Mr. Waites persuasively argues the case for a considerable further contribution of farming development by the monasteries during the 13th and 14th centuries. Indeed, he goes much further, claiming for them the initiating and leading role, as against laymen, the monasteries "predominating" in every sphere of activity, as initiators or as consolidators of what they found, on a scale amounting to a 13th century "agricultural revolution". Their long experience, large scale of operation, continuity of existence and policy, their marketing, port, tithe and other privileges, their power, organisational skills and considerable resources, their freedom from feudal restrictions are portrayed as standing in contrast to the situation of lay estates, and enabling full use to be made of the continued opportunities for expansion and reconstruction. Particularly in pasture farming for sheep, their specialised granges made a major contribution to wool output and influenced the success of markets, ports and trade routes.

The writer's argument is supported by an examination of the character of monastic, and to a less extent, of lay farming in the geographical subdivisions of the region. Much valuable local detail is discussed, drawn from the rather limited sources of available information. The infertile high moors are revealed as largely devoted to sheep pasture in summer, worked from lay and monastic sites in the more fertile dales, which provided winter pasture and relatively small areas of arable, or from the settlements on or below the scarps and dip-slopes, within the long "strip parishes". The dales are portrayed



as possessed of open fields only where compact villages existed but here supplemented and elsewhere characterised by small or large scattered assarts often early enclosed, held amidst long surviving woodland. From the evidence offered it would appear that in the dales and their encroachments on the moors lay activity was vastly more important in arable development but that the monasteries played at least a parallel part with laymen in pastoral and mineral development.

On the limestone slopes of the tabular hills, which the writer somewhat curiously calls the "Low Moors", the thickening fertile soils of the dipslope were an important area of arable cultivation, worked from both scarp-top, dip-slope and spring line villages, supplemented by a considerable number of often prosperous monastic granges, which were in effect large arable farms, with some sizeable early enclosures attached. On evidence from Newlathes grange, Mr. Waites suggests the possibility that some granges may have worked their land on a self-contained open field system, a suggestion which deserves further study. The lower slopes forming the margins of the Vale of Pickering and Ryedale were the home of the great belt of open fields of the spring line villages, in whose cultivation and through rights of tithe the monasteries had a share, but by no means the dominant place, with exceptions at a few townships. Belts of fertile gravels, low-lying but extending into the vale irregularly on the north and in a long terrace on the south near the Wolds, not only extended the open fields of the villages but were a sphere of considerable activity by in-village monastic granges, in particular those of Old Malton Priory and the Templars. However, in the vale-side townships, large scale lay farmers existed and a significant part of the monastic share in the area's produce came from their ownership of tithes of layman's crops.

In the flat centre of Pickering Vale, arable farming was more localised at the village of Yedingham, and at some Rievaulx and Templar granges in the Marishes on the east, and at lay and ecclesiastical estates on clay islands and on the Brawby-Ryton terrace on the west. Other granges were predominantly pastoral, whether for cattle or sheep, and there was much waterlogged carr, meadow and marsh. The interrupted coastal belt of boulder clay and other mixed soils showed a low level of agricultural prosperity with large amounts of field land out of cultivation at some periods, and Mr. Waite attributes this to the marginal character of the arable land rather than the influence of pestilence, Scots raiding, low demand, or other factors. The coastal, valley and plateau villages engaged in mixed farming, the emphasis on the pastoral sometimes exceeding that on arable, a balance not altogether reflected in the evidence presented for the local granges of Guisborough and Whitby monasteries, although high level arable farming of marginal land and a concentration on sheep farming are suggested.

While Mr. Waites' portrayal of the diverse character of farming is both valuable and interesting, and he certainly demonstrates the significant role played by the monasteries, it is doubtful if his broader claims for their "predominant" role are substantiated by the evidence offered. The Inquisition for the Ninth of 1341 shows that a major part of monastic revenue was drawn from tithes of the products of lay flocks in the coasts, moors and vale margins which were far more numerous than those actually retained by the monasteries themselves. The chance discovery of otherwise scarce evidence on specific lay farmers like Thomas de Westhorpe shows that some at least of these could build up flocks and arable holdings comparable with those of monastic granges. The evidence of charter grants of pasture rights, particularly where these were stinted, of occasional references to pasturing in inquisitions, and lawsuits, the distribution of granges, and cotes, contracts for wool supplies, and Pegalotti's list of monastic wool suppliers and the sacks they might produce, make clear the significance of monastic sheep farming but also their role as collectors of lay wool for sale - as wool merchants. A paucity of evidence on lay production does not mean that this was insignificant. Indeed from the size of lay flocks it must have greatly exceeded the monastic contribution. In corn production the monastic role was much more slight, and even in the industrial sphere lay involvement in iron and salt working was not insignificant.

As significant for north-east Yorkshire's development as the monasteries were the formation of boroughs on the one hand and large scale demesne manors - from which the monasteries were normally excluded other than by an interest in tithes - on the other hand. The boroughs were large trading, fishing and craft communities which lacked arable land and had narrowly limited pasture rights, but whose more prominent burgesses quickly acquired significant interests in rural estates. Some of the earliest wool transactions of which we know in the district were carried out by Scarborough merchants. It may yet be shown that their role was at least as great as that of the major monasteries. On the larger demesne manors, organisational skills and trading enterprise were by no means unknown, and production was long kept in a single unit. Even a substantial tenant holding from diverse manors in the later middle ages, like Thomas de Westhorpe could become an operator on "monastic" scale. It is likely that there were others like him. Even the process of new colonisation was not outstandingly monastic. At remote Goathland, the lay developments at Thwaites, Somerholme and Allantofts, were more than comparable with monastic development at Malton Close and Godeland. To say that the monasteries led and the laymen followed is to say too much.

Like most valuable and pioneering research, this essay raises as many questions as it solves. Here are many suggestions for further work - that pasture and marginal areas were early enclosed, that the

dales were characterised by scattered or dispersed holdings, that the dales were farmed when there was nowhere else to farm, and that apart from Eskdale they were unsettled before 1086 and that thereafter their arable land remained small. We may well doubt whether the Cleveland coast, the townships north-west of Whitby and those in the vicinity of Scarborough form part of an identifiable region with comparable problems, or that the situation of Burniston's farmers was as marginal as is suggested - sufficient to make the sheep-farming that was a basis of prosperity in other areas the basis for relative poverty here.

In time a more accurate indication of relative prosperity will become available relating tax payments to the size of parishes or townships, and to the balance of arable field, meadow, common and waste within them. Historical reasons such as the brief initiatives and policies of particular Abbots and Priors - one thinks of Old Malton and Whitby in the 13th century and also of such laymen as the Bigods and Wakes, - may prove as significant in explaining differences as the basic patterns of soil, relief, position, natural cover and terrain. More detailed study of topography, of field names and the production of a soil map would enable the problem to be more clearly stated, and would suggest the considerable significance of Vale meadow and the importance of cattle as against sheep production. They would certainly lead to the questioning of many of our present assumptions, - that the dales in 1086 and in the 16th century were largely woodland is highly questionable.

The monasteries came into a region which already had a definite agricultural pattern, organised in townships, most of which had some part of the different types of available terrain, divided into old inclosure, arable open field, meadow, low common (carr), high common (moor) and woodland, a landscape division as typical of the descriptions of Domesday Book and the Inquisitions Post Mortem as it is of many a later document. Added to and modified by enclosure, this pattern was as given for the monasteries as it was for the lay proprietor. The large-scale and scattered character of the lands, (and more occasionally the deserted site) available to a monastery gave a situation not fundamentally different to that facing the large lay proprietor. The tenant of a monastery or lay lord, the lay or ecclesiastical holder of a rectory, each had possibilities of large-scale working of land or pasture, and did so in the large parts of the district where monasteries had no significant foothold. The multiplication of lay corn, and later fulling, mills and the growth of the non-rural boroughs of Scarborough and Malton are witness to the scale of non-monastic activity in processing and trade.

The case for the significance of early monastic colonisation in



the 11th and 12th centuries rests largely on assumptions as to what there was before, based on inference from the Domesday Book and a few other early sources. Slowly the evidence is growing that the British, Roman, Anglian and Scandinavian societies had contributed a great deal to the landscape and that in some respects the Norman Conquest did not long interrupt a continuity of exploitation. Problems like the variable significance in terms of acreage of the basic terms, carucate and oxgang, both through time and between places, still inhibit our precise interpretation of the early documents and only detailed topographical study will enable their final evaluation. Mr. Waites besides providing a valuable introductory essay on medieval farming in north-east Yorkshire, which all interested in the region should read, has also opened up a major problem - the question as to when, where, why, how and with what effect the township system of land-exploitation was supplanted by other forms of monastic and lay organisation. As his guidelines suggest, it will one day be solved by detailed comparison of what lay and monastic proprietors achieved within comparable geographical regions.

J.H. Rushton.

Rosemary Cramp: Anglican & Viking York. University of York, Borthwick Papers, No. 33, York: St. Anthony's Press, 1967 21pp.

This booklet gives a clear outline of our knowledge of the so-called 'Dark Age' of York. This is the period between the decline of Roman military rule and the gradual settlement of the Anglians, followed by Viking raids and settlement, culminating in 100 years of Danish Kings as overlords.

Miss Cramp has gathered together details of many early finds and the summary of later excavations and discoveries. These are amplified by some useful plans and photographs, though plates I and V could have been improved by better side lighting. Direct flashlight is not much use in this kind of work.

It is gratifying to know that an important series of pottery dated between the ninth to eleventh century is to be published (P 18). Anglian and Viking pottery is not plentiful in York or elsewhere, and more knowledge about it will surely lead to future finds.

The carved stones have been argued over ever since Collingwood published his remarkable survey in 1908 (p 19). They are attributed to various styles and affinities, many of very distant origin. One wonders if there were in York at this time skilled local stone-masons of the type represented by the Weatherill family today? The prototypes of most of these Anglian stones could well have been seen in the Roman remains of the city. The Saxons were directly under Roman influence; their forefathers had been in contact with Roman provinces,



they had served as garrisons on the Wall and for Roman towns in the 15th century. We know that the H.Q. building of the fort was still standing when the first Saxon church was built on the site of the Minster, and material from this was used in the first large Saxon cathedral. King Edwin himself followed the Roman custom of having a standard carried before him, whether in York or on a village green (Bede). The final break with the Roman legacy came not with the Anglians but the Vikings and the Danish rulers of the 9- 10th century. The chief criticism of the booklet is that it was published too soon. The past two years have seen a spate of finds of this very period from the heart of Roman York - the Minster excavations; this may not substantially alter the picture but their inclusion would have been very useful.

Publication can sometimes be too soon, sometimes very late, and, alas! far too often, not at all, despite Wheeler's pungent words on the lapse, - "Unrecorded excavation is destruction - complete and punctual publication must be the invariable rule - no excuse whatsoever can condone deferment". We are grateful to Miss Cramp for her masterly study shedding light on that little-known period in the history of York and look forward to a second, enlarged edition.

R.H. Hayes

## **Shorter Notes**

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### NOTES ON RYEDALE CHURCHES

#### ADDENDUM TO NO. 3: ALL SAINTS, HELMSLEY

Since publication of the above, certain information has been brought to my notice which not only throws more light upon the subject, but further substantiates what has been said. This information is contained in Whellan's description of the church as it was about 1859, the relevant passage being quoted below:

"The south end of the transept has been rebuilt, when a good Perpendicular window of five lights was inserted in it. The south side of the chancel has a Decorated window of three lights; and a tall single ancient light, with a circular head. The east end of the chancel has been rebuilt; the east window contains five lights with Perpendicular tracery."

Now the one weakness of my conjecture, the one loophole which had hitherto invited criticism was in assuming the original Norman church to have been cruciform. Although the 15th century church was undoubtedly so, was it too presuming to have supposed the church to have been similar in plan as early as Norman times? Could not, for instance, the church have been enlarged by the addition of transepts during the 15th century?

My only reason for assuming the Norman church to have had transepts was that I believed the 15th century structure to have been a repaired, rather than a rebuilt Norman church and this was based only upon the small remaining fragment of the Norman nave. In view of the new information the loophole which existed at this point has been effectively closed.

The part-rebuilding of the chancel and south transept - apparently during the 15th century, since Perpendicular windows were inserted - shows that the transepts must have existed earlier than that time. But what clinches the argument is the ancient light with circular head in the chancel. This was undoubtedly a Norman slit and shows that the chancel at that time was in all probability a Norman one (or at least a repaired Norman chancel).

Transepts, such as those which belong to the present church, could not have been added later to a supposed original simple church without demolishing the chancel and since the slit window shows that this was not done, the original Norman church must have possessed transepts like the present one. Similarly the Decorated window of the chancel show that transepts must have been incorporated earlier than the 15th century.

+ History and Topography of the City of York and the North Riding of Yorkshire. 1859. vol. 11 pp. 245 et seq.

#### MEMORIAL BRASS IN RIPON CATHEDRAL TO SIR JORDAN CROSLAND OF NEWBY

Readers of the History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District will recall the notable Crosland family of Helmsley, and the Cavalier commander of Helmsley Castle during the Civil War siege, Sir Jordan Crosland. After the interregnum he settled at Newby and died there in 1670. The History mentions (p.160) his memorial tablet in Ripon Cathedral. This handsome brass inscription is mounted in the south transept, and the full text is worth studying, if only for the unusual phrase, instead of the normal anno domini, a partu Virginis - a sure indication of the recusant (Catholic) ambience of the Crosland family. (The oblique strokes indicate the arrangement by lines of the inscription.)

D O M / Iordanus Crosland de Nubie / Miles / Constabularius  
de Scarborough / & . / Custos ejusdem Castri / Chiliarchus a  
Carolo Primo & Secundo / Magna cum laude vixit / & / Pari  
cum gloria obiit / XX Augusti An. a partu Virginis / MDCLXX  
/ Aetatis suae LIII: / Deo Pius, Regi Fidelis, Patriae Fidus. /  
Firmior ad Patriae Nullus vel fortior armis / Ad sacra Regalis  
jura tuenda domus. / Saepe Rebellantes media inter praelia  
gentis / Intrepidum exposuit Regis amore latus. / Nemo mage  
in bello tonuit, mage Pace quievit, / Terribilis galea,  
mitis et ille toga. / Integer is vitae fama, clarumq̃ perenni /  
Illustris decorat Mortis honore rogem.

# Museums

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## BECK ISLE MUSEUM AND ARTS CENTRE, PICKERING.

Housed in the Regency mansion of farming pioneer William Marshall, this local museum of history and arts centre stands by Pickering Beck just over the Georgian bridge from the market place. Car parking is available at nearby Potter Hill and Train Lane. A green lane runs away to the 11th - 14th century Castle of Pickering and a short walk along the market place brings the visitors to Pickering Church with its 15th century murals.

The Museum reflects the local history of the old market town and the villages of its district. Displays are changed regularly in some rooms but a permanent and developing local collection illustrates the country crafts, farming history, the history of shops, railways, and women and children's home life. Exhibits of particular interest include a room devoted to early entertainments, with some working machines which delight the children; ladies' costume and home craft displays; a unique photographic collection and the periodic arts exhibitions.

Open Whitsun week and from June to September.

Mondays, Thursdays, Saturdays, Sundays.

2.0 - 5.30 p.m.;

Parties by arrangement at other times.

Enquiries to Beck Isle Museum, Pickering, Or ring Pickering 2788.

## ROMAN MALTON MUSEUM

An Open Evening held during the national Museums Week in April 1968 gave the Editor an opportunity to meet the part-time Curator and one of the trustees of the Roman Malton Museum, and to view the progress made in reorganising and re-displaying the collection.

The contrast between the state of this valuable little museum some years ago and now is remarkable. Strip-lighting, and the sensible re-grouping of exhibits, with modern lettering and display methods, have already made a vast difference. Much remains to be done, of course, particularly as regards maps, plans and diagrams to situate exhibits adequately in their chronological and topographical context, but already it is well worth anybody's while to pay the Museum a visit. The exhibits are predominantly Roman or Romano-British, from Malton, Norton, the Langton and Knapton villas, and Crambeck, among other well-known sites. But there are also showcases devoted to the Bronze Age and to Medieval and other periods, and exhibits come from as far away as Catterick, Sutton Bank and Levisham. It is the hope of the trustees, indeed, that when the reorganisation is complete the Museum will be a worthy complement to the Ryedale Folk Museum at Hutton le Hole.



Finds from the 1949-52 excavations are being boxed and will shortly be available for study; a few are already on display.

The Museum, which is in the Milton Rooms at the south-west corner of the Market Place, is open at the following times (admission 1/- and 6d).

Monday, Wednesday, Friday: 2-4 p.m.

July and August only; Sunday 2-5 p.m.

Application for admission at other times may be made to the Town Hall.

#### RYEDALE FOLK MUSEUM, HUTTON-LE-HOLE

The popular interest in the Museum continues to grow. Visitors in 1968 numbered about 15,000. The building was considerably improved by converting the former garage to provide a new entrance and add to the available floor-space. The collections were re-arranged and some room entirely revised.

The cruck house was finished early in 1968, and the ceremonial opening was performed by Lady Feversham on May 4th; a maypole was erected on the green, and there was maypole dancing by the Slingsby schoolchildren, and demonstrations of various crafts by skilled local men. The newly built blacksmith's forge was the scene of much activity and a great attraction for the children was the witch in her thatched hovel.

A useful addition to the museum was the former Helmsley cricket pavilion, re-erected as a workshop and storeroom.

Members of the little band of helpers who built the cruck house were later engaged in the excavation of a late medieval glass kiln in Rosedale - the largest of its kind ever excavated, and in very good preservation. It is to be removed to the museum grounds in 1969 and rebuilt. Messrs. Pilkington the glass manufactourers have contributed £100 to this object.

We have received a generous gift from Mrs. P. Hildyard of Middleton Hall, of the library of archaeological journals belonging to the late E.J.W. Hildyard.

A horse mill from Stirk House, Bransdale, was removed with some difficulty and installed near the cruck house. A set of tinsmith's tools some were kindly presented by Mr. King of Bondgate, Helmsley. Not a week passes but someone gives an object, large or small, to the museum, to the present total of over 10,000.

A special word of thanks is due to our willing band of helpers, recruited by Mr. J. Hurst, and to all those who have assisted in any way.

The Museum will be open in 1969 from April until the autumn, daily except on Tuesdays, and Fridays, from 2.0 to 7.0 p.m.





Memorandum made the 22<sup>nd</sup> Day of April 1782  
that Charles Slingsby Duncombe Esq<sup>r</sup> hath to Sam<sup>l</sup>  
Let unto Anthony Stonehouse and Thomas Ward a  
Colliery call'd Harland which the said Thomas Ward  
hath drilled in and is now fit for working and they are  
Agreed to pay after the Rate of 10 £ when the seam or Bed  
of Coals is 12 Inches thick and so more or less in  
Proportion to the Thickness of the Seam and to have Birch  
and Alder wood for props according to the Agreement of the  
other Collieries belonging to Charles Slingsby Duncombe  
Esq<sup>r</sup>. and farther it is agreed that they will leave at least  
half a yard of Coal between every Board in order to support  
the Roof and to keep the Drain in sufficient repair. and  
if at any time hereafter they should leave the said  
Colliery shall leave according as a working Colliery

Witness

Joseph Good

Anthony Stonehouse  
Thomas Ward